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THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE

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EDITED BY
EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS
University of Wisconsin

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January, 1926

The Century Social Science Series

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE

BY

HORACE BOIES HAWTHORN, PH.D.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY OF AKRON RESEARCH SOCIOLOGIST FOR BETTER AKRON FEDERATION; FORMERLY ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY, IOWA STATE COLLEGE

WITHDRAWN

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NEW YORK & LONDON

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Printed in U. S. A.

To

HAZEL, MY WIFE

WHOSE FAITH AND OPTIMISM HAVE EVER OVERCOME MY DISAPPOINTMENTS AND ENCOURAGED MY BEST EFFORTS, THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

PREFACE

This work has been written with a full realization that, at the present stage of development of rural-social research, any attempt to produce a Rural Sociology can be nothing more than the laying of foundations. Before an infant science can reach anything like maturity, many postulates, theories, and philosophies must be put forth, tested, remodeled, and perhaps discarded. Rural Sociology is yet in the formative, nascent state. Not only is there a lack of coherence and uniformity in research, but there is much difference of opinion as to what the field of Rural Sociology actually is. Considerable data has been laboriously amassed, and numerous interpretations of rural life hazarded. Certainly, it will be many years before a clearly-defined program of research can be evolved. In the meantime, some must take the risk of doing pioneer work, and patiently weather the criticism that comes from a public which expects immediate results from a science that is struggling to get its bearings.

If our viewpoint here is different enough from the orthodox and traditional to stimulate spirited reaction and penetrating criticism, it will have served one useful purpose. The present task of Rural Sociology is the remapping of its field and the driving of new stakes. Agricultural economists, rural hygienists, rural educators, have made great inroads into the original field rural sociologists staked out and so are forcing them to re-survey rural life. Something must be done to break rural sociology away from some of its "old moorings" so that it can float out into the real current. We have, as yet, to find the "big personality" of the science.

And, all the time, our society is rushing ahead at such speed that almost before we know it the old line between "urban" and "rural" will have vanished. A great future is ahead for the rural sociologist if he can find the true field of the Rural Sociology.

It has not been the purpose of the writer to set out principles in a dogmatic fashion, or to fashion a cast-iron "system." Rather his aim is to advance postulates which give promise of future results and which may stimulate constructive thought. Most students of Rural Sociology naturally have quite a wealth of facts. What they lack most are the philosophies for interpreting and organizing this material. There are, however, not only many possible approaches to the field of rural social

phenomena, but many philosophies of human society around which to marshal the data of Rural Sociology. The viewpoint developed in this work is only one. The writer only hopes that this socialization analysis of rural society will contribute its mite to the future scientific development of Rural Sociology.

Doubtless the attempt to devise measures and standards of evaluation for social phenomena will seem premature to many. However, the stakes Sociology is playing for in this age of stupendous social transformation are so great that some reconnoitering expeditions into the field of measurement should be risked. Perhaps, the very difficulties met with in the use of rough sociological measurements will fire the oncoming sociologists with the ambition to perfect more accurate measures.

The exercises and references have been organized with a view to directing the student's discussion not only towards the theses set forth in the book, but towards the great diversity of rural life problems developed in the literature of Rural Sociology.

It is impossible adequately to recognize the assistance which various people have rendered in the production of this work. Without the painstaking research of co-workers, who have freely offered their services, and bulletin publications, this work could never have been attempted. Different publishing companies have been liberal in extending the privilege of making citations from their books. Particularly, is the writer indebted to his former teacher, Professor E. A. Ross, editor of the Series, for his inspiring counsel and painstaking work upon the manuscript. Acknowledgement should also be made of the invaluable assistance of Professors C. L. Holmes, G. H. Von Tungeln, J. F. Thaden, Knute Bjorka, and A. B. Noble in the arrangement and presentation of the subject matter, of the persistent work of Mr. F. W. Lorch, Mrs. O. S. Alcox, and Mr. H. T. Ross in reading certain sections of the manuscript, of the helpful material gathered by many research students, and of the encouragement and assistance of the writer's wife at all times. Finally, the writer would like to express his gratitude to Professors J. H. Kolb, D. W. Sanderson, O. E. Rankin, and C. E. Lively for the use of some of their excellent maps and research material.

HORACE B. HAWTHORN.

AMES, MAY 3, 1926.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Rural Sociology thrust its head up through the soil about eighteen years ago. It came up because there was a demand for a treatment of those aspects of country life which had no place in the young science of Agricultural Economics. So it came to be a collection of studies of the rural population, rural health and hygiene, the farm home, the country school, the country church, rural recreation, rural organization and leadership.

Now, in this book our author stands for a very different view. For him the spinal cord of Rural Sociology is the process of socialization as it bears upon country dwellers—a side of life as basic and important as getting three meals a day. Seen from this angle the farm home, the country school, the country church, good roads and the rest—all fall into their proper place as having to do with providing wholesome social contacts. Then our author goes on to work out a yard stick by which to measure the efficiency and economy of socialization in different communities and with different types of organization.

So conceived Rural Sociology has a chance to become a full peer of Agricultural Economics.

With originality, humor and eloquence our author contrasts the social side of rural life with the economic side, showing that the farmer outwardly rich may be inwardly poor. He comes near to making "psychic" income as real and enticing as "dollar" income. His picture of the shriveled etiolated souls of farmers who may be doing very well financially is convincing. Such vivid phrases as "social starvation," "social Saharas," "famishing personality," "cramped and desiccated lives," stick in the memory. His doctrine recalls the words the poet William Morris puts into the mouth of old John Ball:

> Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death: and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them.

New and significant is our author's contrast of the two plans upon which the country people may be organized: by outsiders planting local chapters of national organizations; or by the people setting up committees of their own to recruit home talent and present programs appealing

to the varied interests of rural life. His picture of a rural community of 1000 to 1200 persons providing its members with all the contacts and stimuli they have need of, and affording channels of expression for all the "talent" now buried and rusting, is inspiring.

The book brings a message of good cheer. Whatever may be happening elsewhere, the Middle Western farmer is not becoming a peasant. Moreover, there is no prospect of his ever becoming one. Professor Hawthorn shows that peasant-mindedness is not the outgrowth of tenancy or small-scale farming, but of mental isolation and stagnation. What with automobiles, hard-surface roads, telephones and radio, the conditions which begot the dull, narrow, sordid, suspicious peasant seemed to have passed away forever.

Edward Alsworth Ross.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Sociological Interpretation of Rural Life	3
II.	Socialization as a Fundamental Problem of Rural Society	10
III.	Socialization: Its Interpretation and Meaning	39
IV.	Measurement of Socialization	60
V.	The Standard of Living in the Country in Its Social Aspects	87
VI.	Socialization in Rural Communities	114
VII.	The Population Factor	138
VIII.	Topography and Season as Socialization Factors	161
IX.	Communication and Transportation as Factors in Socialization	168
X.	The Physiological Factor in Socializaton—Fatigue	192
XI.	Economic Factors in Socialization: Wealth, Possessions, and Income	213
XII.	Economic Factors in Socialization; Land Occupancy	230
XIII.	The Psychological Factor in Socialization	250
XIV.	The Geographical Factor in Socialization	285
XV.	Sociological Factors—Utilization of Talent	320
XVI.	Development of Agencies and Institutions of Socialization within the Community	334
XVII.	Sociological Factors—The General Scheme of Community Organization	406
XVIII.	Sociological Factors—The Size of the Community	416
XIX.	Philosophies, Principles, and Bases for Rural Social Control and Community Organization	425
XX.	Community Analysis	453
XXI.	Methods and Systems of Community Organization	467
XXII.	Organization of the Community for the Production of Social Contacts	491

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE

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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF RURAL LIFE

SOCIOLOGY VIEWS RURAL LIFE IN TERMS OF A COUNTRY-DWELLING CIVILIZATION

A rural civilization, not a peasant population, should be built upon the fertile soil of America. Educators, churchmen, agriculturists, economists, editors, all have pledged their efforts to this challenging task, for they realize that the degeneration of rural America into a dull, plodding peasantry with no greater ambition than to eke out a meager existence, would be a greater calamity than the depletion of our soils. Knowing that such a fate has been suffered by European and Oriental countries with all of its attendant evils, many men of vision upon our social watchtowers are anxiously scanning the rural areas for any signs which denote the decay of our country institutions, and the oncoming of the dread plague of peasant agriculture.

But a civilization is more than paved roads, electric light lines, barns, and silos; it is a highly organized and delicately adjusted human society, composed of individuals, groups, institutions, bound together by resemblances, traditions, co-operative activities, and molded by sociological forces. Thus civilization, as a highly developed form of society, has its social origins, its social structures, its social maladjustments, its social controls, and so constitutes a sociological problem.

Assuming this latter fact, sociology develops devices for the building of a better civilization on the land. In order to adjust individuals to their groups, and groups to their communities, sociology studies population movements and social processes in both their normal and their abnormal state. It must locate the agencies and means by which we can eliminate the maladjustments in rural society. Are we propagating our future rural citizens from our best human stocks? Are we suffering from the migration from farm to city? Do our rural social agencies work efficiently in producing the sort of social contacts that build manhood and womanhood? What are the causes of social starvation in the country? What influences are under-

mining the morale of our rural churches, homes, and schools? The problem of rural civilization having been diagnosed, what methods of social control are potent and practical? Such are the problems rural sociology contends with, when it interprets rural life in terms of a civilized society.

SOCIOLOGY EMPHASIZES THE HUMAN FACTOR IN COUNTRY LIFE

The old agricultural sciences have focused our attention upon the acre, the dollar, the house, the soil, or the plant, rather than upon the man. While this rural literature has been lavish with suggestions for the improvement of breeds of cattle and corn, it has been stingy with ideas as to the improvement of the rural human being himself. Efficient acres have been set above efficient men. Agricultural economy has been placed ahead of man economy; the farmer has been viewed as a cog in a machine, a producer of commodities rather than as an individual struggling for happiness.

Sociology, on the other hand, tries to bring man back to his rightful place at the center of things, serving notice that the Sabbath was made for man, that the end of all economic and mechanical development is better living. It emphasizes the human problems on the farm and the need of scientifically organizing the community to conserve human values and to create greater funds of human happiness. We have thought to improve human existence and speed up progress by creating better conditions of health, tenancy, income, housing, education, and marketing, trusting that man would utilize these advantages to improve his cultural and social standards; but this is working from the external conditions towards the man. Why should we not exert some direct effort at building better human beings? May it not be that with farmers at a higher level of social development we should soon witness a rapid improvement in their external conditions? With the right type of human being in the community, should we not anticipate a better type of farming and a superior grade of home life?

SOCIOLOGY STRESSES THE UTILIZATION AND CONSERVATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES

The movement for the conservation of wild game, forests, mines, recreational parks, soil fertility, and physical life has been more spectacular than any movement in the direction of conserving our spiritual resources in the form of culture, talent, and human achievement. Yet a civilization that so recognizes its thinkers, scientists, artists, and statesmen as to conserve its sources of leadership and talent, will survive even though it has to found its material economy upon hillsides and swamps. Mind, talent, and spiritual

power master and subdue deserts and marshes; they adjust population to resources; they found great civilizations. But fertile plains may be the seat of a decadent civilization when no effort is made to preserve and develop the spiritual and intellectual. Our rural America has been—with its superior endowment of Northern European racial stock—and should continue to be an almost inexhaustible fountain of psychic man-power. Should city life be allowed to exploit country life to its financial profit and for ulterior commercial ends? All studies indicate that there are many "lights hid under a bushel" in country communities, which are restive and ambitious for expression. But, strange to relate, only one farmer out of seventy-five thousand wins a "niche" in "Who's Who." And so another vital function looms large. How shall we organize rural life to utilize buried talent and to recognize native achievements? How shall we create in the country cultural and social opportunities that shall hold a due proportion of our ambitious boys and girls, that shall check the flow of prosperous farmers into town-retiredness?

SOCIOLOGY HOLDS THAT THE TRUE MEASURE OF SUCCESSFUL RURAL LIFE IS PSYCHIC INCOME

It is one thing to make a living; it is another thing to live. Rich or poor, all that we can "get out of life" is a living, and this living, this true income of our fleeting years, is not a matter of money, twelve-room houses, or large farms. It is something far more intangible and spiritual than that. It is the psychic income which we derive from our contact with books, programs, nature scenes, people, groups, etc. Only this spiritual part of external things can actually enter the stream of human experience.

We see many instances of wealthy farmers and business men so penurious that they live on the dry husks of social and spiritual things. A mere dribble of culture flows into their cramped and desiccated lives. Having eyes they see not; having ears they hear not; having beauty they appreciate not; having good books they read not. Outwardly they are rich; inwardly they are poor.

SOCIOLOGY IS INTERESTED IN THE SOCIAL NUTRITION OF RURAL PEOPLE

Our age has witnessed many brilliant discoveries in the field of animal and human nutrition. Thanks to research, we have discovered much unscientific feeding and malnutrition not only in the farmyard but also around the family table. Underweight and malnourished children are now seen as a social problem, calling for educational and clinical measures. So today

"Skinny" is not passed by with a "Yo Ho," but is the object of serious consideration by school nurse, parent, and doctor. And this humanistic turn to science opens the way for scientific study of the welfare of human beings from the standpoint of their social, cultural, and spiritual nutrition. Narrow, shriveled personalities are becoming objects of concern, quite as much as bony legs and peaked faces. The physically well-fed man may be craving social contacts to feed his famishing personality. Isolated in a social Sahara, many seek to quench their spiritual thirst by cheap novels. Just as now we are talking about balanced food rations, we shall ere long be discussing a balanced social-contact diet.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY AS THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RURAL SOCIALIZATION

In the past, rural sociology has lacked singleness of aim. This subject was not, at first, derived by a rigorous application of Pure Sociology to rural society, but was developed as a sort of synthetic product. Actuated by the philanthropic desire to do missionary work in rebuilding a presumably "decadent" rural life, rural welfare enthusiasts mobilized every science or art that might have a bearing on better community life. Thus rural sociology, in many instances, was expanded by infusions from hygiene, ethics, highway economics, farm management, home economics, education, and religion. Certainly there was an urgent need in interpreting these various sciences and arts in terms of rural welfare, and it can be said, to the credit of the earlier rural sociology, that it did this task in such a way as to give the nation a clearer vision of rural development. It is quite probable that if rural sociology had advanced by the purely sociological method, it would not have its present prestige, for sociology has been very immature. But today sciences are definitely marking out their fields. Rural sociology will tend to limit itself to the more closely sociological analysis of socialization problems.

The rural sociologist will not neglect consideration of rural living conditions in the home, the length of the working day, the physical standard of life, the problem of tenancy, the country church and school, or rural recreation; but he will not treat such subjects as an educator, a hygienist, or an agricultural economist. He will rather deal with them as a sociologist, studying them as factors in the socialization process. Thus tenancy is a type of economic organization not only affecting labor return and type of farm management, but also introducing social forces which affect the institutional life of the community.

In many quarters we note a tendency to define the constructive field

of rural sociology in terms of the socialization problem. Gillette,[1] after, considering the rural life problem from various angles, sees socialization as a central problem. Galpin[2] sees the community as a locus of social contacts. "How shall be assured to farmers mental touch with persons other than farmers, so that farm experience may be enriched by the other widely varied types of experience? How shall farm women come to close quarters with other types of women? . . . The second phase of the problem is how to increase the number of contacts, the number of acquaintances, with people, either of the same occupational type or of different types? . . . The third phase of the problem is perhaps the most far-reaching and influential. How shall the quality and dynamic character of rural contacts with the human mind be vastly improved?" Butterfield[3] clearly discerns the culturization aspect of community life. In his opinion agricultural prosperity is a basic condition to the attainment of higher standards of living in the country. Yet, he sees much more involved in the rural problem than economic welfare. For him no rural civilization can prosper in a population that has low moral, intellectual, and social standards. For it is the ambition to have the more cultural values that urges the farmer to financial effort.

If rural socialization can be broadly construed as the process by which a country civilization of culture and high living standards is built, the rural sociologists are quite well agreed as to its place at the center of rural life problems.

Following the socialization "lead," dynamic rural sociology will develop certain viewpoints and interpretations of country life.

1. Rural people are continually struggling to socialize their personalities and win spiritual happiness. Through book, newspaper, radio, church, and club they seek the impressions that feed their inner being; through song, debate, pageant, and picnic they strive to express their pent-up selves. In the country community this personality process proceeds under certain conditions, some helpful and others disadvantageous. Sociology should be able to factor, organize, and direct this marvelous drama of socialization, staged by such a diversity of human actors. Sociology should interpret life in the country in deeper terms than a contest with droughts, chinch bugs, and mortgages.

2. The community is a socializing mechanism producing and distributing social contacts. We have looked upon the rural community as a

[1] Gillette, J. M., *Rural Sociology*, pp. 23-24. The Macmillan Co., 1922.
[2] Galpin, C. J., *Rural Life*, pp. 57-59. The Century Co., 1918.
[3] Butterfield, K. L., *The Farmer and the New Day*, pp. 63-64. The Macmillan Co. 1919.

producer of corn and hogs, a machine creating dollar values. Much time and energy has been spent—and profitably so—in contriving a machine to get the biggest results with the least expenditure of energy.

Yet, a community is much more than an area dotted with farmsteads and stores; it has a culture history; it has an organic unity of complex social relationships. It is not merely an arena of plowing, hauling, marketing, selling, and banking; it is a place where talent is marketed, where youth is developing personality through social contacts, and where human destinies are determined. There must be a chance to develop a *life* as well as to win a *livelihood*.

When conceived as a socializing mechanism, the community develops a new type of economy, which concerns itself with the units of social utility created within a span of time, with the time, energy, and money cost of these utilities, with the evenness of their distribution, with their types and gradation in quality, and with the organizational engineering to secure a greater efficiency. Just as the increase in the number and range of economic wants demands the invention of more highly organized machinery in the industrial realm, just so does the expansion of interests and cultural wants necessitate the perfection of more specialized and co-ordinated social mechanisms. In this rôle of studying the economy of the production and distribution of social utilities and in devising more efficient machinery, sociology renders its great service to rural progress. If rural economics is the science of the production, valuation, distribution, and consumption of the material products of the farm, rural sociology becomes the science of the production, valuation, distribution, and consumption of the social utilities of rural society.

Proceeding with the socialization analysis, rural sociology should find not only unity but its own challenging field of research, peculiarly adapted to its philosophy and technique. Investigating under-socialization, rural sociology may find the key to anti-sociality, rampant individualism, delinquency, and other types of rural maladjustments. Investigating the factors which control socialization, rural sociology will make a deeper and more penetrating analysis of such social forces as custom, tradition, fashion, and convention, and of such socializing agencies as home, church, school, "movie," and newspaper. Topography, tenancy, machinery, communication, housing, wealth, and population shifts will be related to the socialization of rural civilization. And finally, the determination of the most potent factors which control socialization will point the way to an art of community engineering.

If we consider the rural socialization process to be the dynamic field of

sociological study in the rural community, we confront these tasks: first, to work out a philosophy of socialization from the standpoint of the individual, the group, and the institution; second, to devise methods of measuring and equating the speed, type, and intensity of the socialization process, so that different individuals, institutions, and communities can be compared as to their social efficiency; third, to study the factors that govern socialization, so that control schemes may be more scientifically designed; and fourth, to work out a system of social engineering that will secure more effective organization of the community life for intensive socialization.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Account for the increasing emphasis upon building a rural civilization. Why is this, in the final analysis, a sociological task?
2. Distinguish between "making a living" and "living." Give some instances of men who "make money" but do not "live a life."
3. Just what do we mean by a sociological interpretation of such subjects as land tenure, churches, transportation, and standards of living? How will the technician treat these? Why has the rural sociologist in the past been compelled to deal with such subjects as health, housing, transportation, and costs of living in a more or less technical way?
4. Show how sociology humanizes science. Discuss the statement: "Our civilization is morally and spiritually bankrupt despite our marvelous discoveries in the physical sciences."
5. Expand the concept of the community as a socializing mechanism.
6. What new interpretations of rural life does the socialization concept introduce?
7. Why are the American people more interested in the conservation of natural resources than human resources? Mention some conservation movements that have occurred during the last three decades.

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CHAPTER II

SOCIALIZATION AS A FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF RURAL SOCIETY

MANY RURAL PROBLEMS HINGE UPON SOCIALIZATION FOR THEIR SOLUTION

There are a number of rural life problems which await an intensive socialization program for their complete solution. Previous attacks on these social and economic maladjustments have been more or less superficial.

Socialization and the system of land economy. The development of a population of well socialized and enlightened farmers is fundamental to the building of more efficient systems of agriculture and more desirable types of tenancy. Just as superior farmers tend to create advanced forms of tenancy, inferior farmers tend to beget bad systems of land occupancy. Thus the farmer from Poland or Italy who does only hand work will develop a system of peasant farming, while the American farmer who uses the power machinery will chisel out economic-sized farms which support high living standards. Thus the program for creating independent farmers in Mexico fails because land-owning independence does not appeal to the Mexican peon, who is so habituated to serfdom that he prefers obsequiously to take orders rather than think for himself. While it is quite probable that a system of land-robbing tenancy brings forth low living standards and inferior farmers, it is more probable that the anti-social, peasant-minded farmer introduces most of the evils attributed to tenancy, such as absentee landlordism, poor schools, decadent churches, "folk depletion," and low standards of living. With the socialization of the agricultural population will come the standards of life which provide an incentive and education for better farming. The proportion of any rural people which is socialized will determine the proportion of farms upon which a higher type of agriculture can be introduced.

Socialization and farmers' co-operative projects. Farmers' Co-operative societies require a great amount of social solidarity on account of the many influences and factors which impose strain upon them. After the first flush of enthusiasm is over and the novelty wears off, most organizations experience a period of pessimism and discouragement. Morale is at

low ebb; the "knocker" is listened to with avidity; clans and factions arise which threaten mutiny. Again, most farmers' organizations have to weather a period of competitive "price slashing" from private concerns; and the same cupidity that prompts certain farmers to join a marketing association will also induce them to sell to the competing grain buyer, who bids an extra cent per bushel. Although such a short-sighted policy may wreck the farmers' co-operative and result in the return of "scalping," such tactics are pursued in hundreds of cases. And, finally, many farmers' economic movements have been rooted, not in any clear vision of a long-time program, but in a common discontent. So long as there was something to fight, the organization waxed strong; but when things settled into the long grind of educational and constructive work, interest waned and membership dwindled. During these various types of crises, some organizations stand firm as the Rock of Gibraltar; others disintegrate like a hill of sand.

It is quite evident that the power of economic co-operation is proportional to the amount of "we feeling" between the co-operating individuals. Within Mormon, Shaker, and Dunker communities, we have the economic bond strongly reinforced by the social and religious bond. And it is a matter of common observation that team-work is almost perfect in these communities, where group loyalty generally outweighs the lure of selfish financial gain. The marvelous co-operation within these colonies contrasts strikingly with the intense individualism of the average American community.

Now, we do not attain the solidarity which is so essential to the permanence of co-operative projects by isolation and seclusion. Social unity and "we feeling" are produced by frequent social contacts between individual farmers. Not only to maintain interest and enthusiasm, but to create a common consciousness, a farm organization needs a *social* program. Particularly is this urgent in the case of the self-sufficient, independent American farmer who has never undergone an intense process of socialization, such as would give him a fraternal attitude toward his neighbor and an awareness of the common problems of his class. Unlike the city laborer, the farmer has not, to any extent, worked in gangs where he could discuss such common issues as foreign immigration and the length of the working day. Realizing the need of promoting more class consciousness among farmers, many farm organizations have re-adapted their program. The Grange, finding that politics tended to sow dissension in its ranks, and that many of its earlier commercial ventures were financially disastrous, turned its attention to the development of a social and educational program. It thus received a new lease of power and influence. The Farm Bureau is

also being converted to the proposition that socialization is a good preparatory tillage for the sowing of co-operative projects, and is accordingly developing boys' and girls' club work and enlisting the aid of its women in providing dramatic, educational, and social activities. Only by an intensive socialization program can a solid foundation be laid for an extensive development of agricultural co-operation on a national scale.

Socialization and community development. Serious community problems grow out of a lack of the social outlook. Denominationalism and educational indifference can be traced back to under-socialization. The unsocial as well as the anti-social person opposes the expenditure of funds for the extension of schools or churches, since he measures institutions upon an egoistic basis of individual profit. The sodden, commercialized farmer, who reasons within the horizon of his own farm experience and who argues upon the basis of bank deposits, cannot be converted to the Boy Scout or Campfire Girl program. Most of the consolidated schools in Iowa have appeared in those communities that have undergone a process of socialization and culturization. When a school election is in progress, an old man drives up in a dilapidated buck-board drawn by two "crowbaits" and asks, "Whar kin I put down me mark agin schools and eddication?" This man is an eloquent argument for schools and community centers. Since the work of the teacher is intangible and invisible, it does not appeal strongly to the anti-social individual. And so, today, there are hundreds of rich rural communities with third-class school, church, and recreational facilities, because a group of their influential men lack a vision of anything higher than cattle and barns.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY ALONE DOES NOT INSURE BETTER LIVING

As several writers have ably demonstrated, an increase in the prosperity of the farmer without a corresponding rise in the social level of the community results in absentee landlords, retired farmers, and migratory tenants. For with increased spending power, comes a larger opportunity to secure satisfaction of psychic wants, and unless the community creates social and recreational opportunities, there is an exodus of prosperous farmers from the country in search of a more stimulating environment. Too many times the prosperous rural community has been weighed in the balance and found wanting in educational, spiritual, and social opportunity.

It has been the hope of the man who works to improve the financial and industrial machinery of a nation that the making of men rich and prosperous will attain a higher level of citizenship. In some respects the

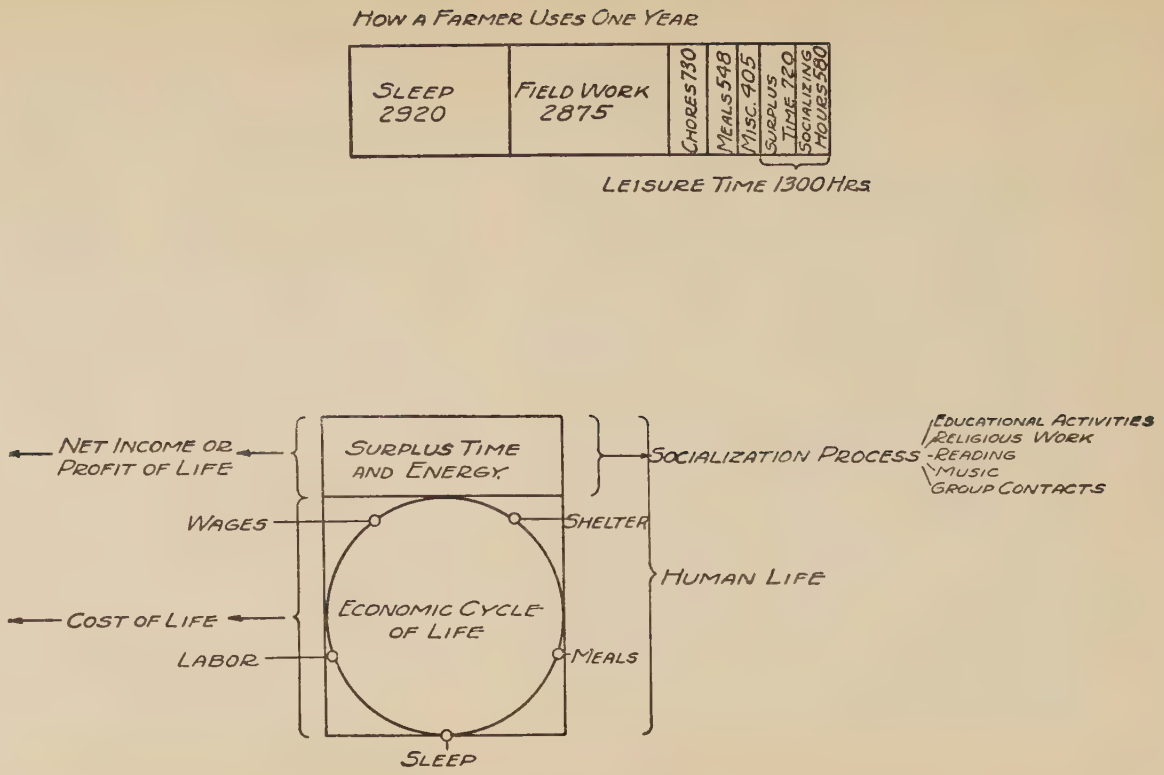


FIGURE 1

Socialization and the Economic Cycle

ownership of property adds some valuable social qualities that render the man a better citizen. However, a modest home or forty acres of land will develop as much loyalty to the community or as much citizenship responsibility as a plantation or coal mine.

Under the force of this materialistic logic, rural progress is equated in terms of barns and acres. The delapidated automobile behind the rented hovel, and the enormous amounts spent for tobacco, midnight revels, and tawdry baubles testify to the fallacy of this smug assumption.

The ultimate reason for raising the economic prosperity is that the cultural and social standard of living may thereby be raised. Natural resources, exploited by industrial energy, merely form the physical foundation upon which the superstructure of cultural living is reared. Humanity, we say, must be fed, clothed, and housed. Why? Simply that more humanity may be reared? Is the significant thing about man that he evolves a higher type of protein than the animal or plant body? No! Humanity is economically and industrially maintained that it may add to the cultural endowment of civilization. We eat to live, and we live to be socialized. Geological, biological, and sociological forces labored through long eons to develop the well-socialized human being—the sublime jewel of the universe. The relation between economic life and socialization is shown by the diagrammatic scheme, in Figure 1.

SOCIALIZATION AS A GOAL OF EDUCATION

Education is adjustment; the school is a place where the experience of the human race is made available to save the individual costly mistakes. Our adaptation to climate and the world of material objects is instinctively made during infancy. To walk, to see solid objects, to estimate distances, and to eat, we need no formal instruction. On the other hand the social environment with its complexity of human relations, standards, group *mores,* traditions, and ideals involves such delicate adjustments that the educational period must be prolonged to prevent such maladjustments as crime, poverty, and vice.

While the student has the task of making a living, he also has the job of living with other human beings as a citizen. The increase of leisure time, coupled with the numbing effects of monotonous machine industry, introduce the problem of the socialization of surplus time. Are students trained only to secure a money income, or are they trained to use their spare time in securing a psychic income? Are we educating people in the art of amusing, entertaining, and recreating themselves during idle moments?

In too many cases our institutions of learning have produced the unsocial or anti-social individual who develops such bad traits as egotism, clannishness, dogmatism, and intolerance. The Phi Kappa Phi or Phi Beta Kappa "initiate" may disappoint his teachers in his work as a leader and citizen because he has developed little ability to understand, co-operate with, or lead others. In these days we are hearing much about sociality as well as mentality. We have had our bitter experience with the anti-social college man who turns his education to money-seeking, rather than to the constructive service of his community; for men may be educated to crack safes as well as to "crack" petroleum, and the inventions of modern physical and chemical science may be directed to wholesale slaughter as well as to social service. Thus, without training in social ethics and morals, education is dangerous.

Furthermore, there is a lack of a higher conception of education. In this day of commercialized rather than social education, we see students mastering techniques that they may secure a profitable job, and converting college campuses into a training ground for job-hunters. In most of our technical institutions, very few students study sociology or social organization. As a result, they ignore the social issues of the day and have only a superficial knowledge of the society in which they live.

More and more, teachers are discovering that much of the student's personality is formed beyond the classroom, and that the school must control the group life that grows up in extra-curricular activities. Gang, neighborhood, fraternity, and campus organizations have much to do with the standards, ideals, and attitudes of students. Every high school superintendent faces such problems as truancy, vice, sex, character development, and anti-social habits. To be successful he should be a practical sociologist as well as a psychologist. Psychology tells him how to teach; sociology suggests what to teach to this particular student as a personality case. To interpret the student, it is necessary to know something of his community life and the forces which are socializing him. The information which a man possesses is not wisdom, nor does the power of his mind, as a machine, mean personality. We shall find many anti-social elements in classroom and campus life. The lack of chances to develop "we feeling" in the classroom and library, the growth of cliques and castes, the lack of opportunities for becoming vitally acquainted, and the attempts at mono-sex education are anti-social features of university life. The class where the students have little opportunity to discuss issues with each other, the isolated course which shuts the student into the small circle of his co-technicians, the lack of contact of faculty members with each other and with their students,

will be studied as fundamental educational problems rather than side issues. The socialization approach to education will present a new basis for judging the school.

Today books are appearing on Educational Sociology, outlining the various fields in which sociology will make a contribution to education. What sort of society are we training for? What are the main requirements of an efficient citizen? The teacher must understand the society he is educating for and its dynamic processes. Each subject has its social and cultural value and its claim for a place in the curriculum. What are some of the social values in language, history, or biology? What contributions can they make to the member of society? How shall we individualize education so that we can guide the exceptional individual into the exceptional profession? Students do not come to school merely for the purpose of study. They come there to select their vocation and their niche in the social order.

Snedden [1] in his book on Educational Sociology presents this new concept of Education as a socialization process:

"*Education*—in the inclusive sense of the control, the development, and the direction of training and instruction—is one of the gigantic social processes, designed partly to prevent each generation from losing any of the ground gained by previous generations, and partly to assist it to reach higher levels than had any previous generation."

Educators have recognized the "Great Education" as contrasted to formal classroom training. It develops a new problem. Through the motion picture, the press, the traveling library, the extension course, and the radio, education has leapt from the college hall out into the "Great Society." In the organization of society to transmit the valuable elements in culture, we posit a vital task for applied sociology.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF RELIGION

In these modern times, we are noting a decided trend toward a more humanistic, sociological interpretation of religion. The abstruse problems propounded by medieval theologians and metaphysicians, the creedal disputes which have split so many communities into rival sects, are losing their interest for church people. For great masses of earnest people are taking keen interest in this life as well as the mysterious Hereafter, and are beginning to pay attention to the welfare of the "living" as well as the "deceased." What has religion to offer that will help solve the problems of

[1] Snedden, David, *Educational Sociology*, pp. 31-32. The Century Co., 1922.

war, the problem of labor, the problem of family disintegration, the problem of the delinquent child, the problem of poverty, and the problem of eugenics? What can it devise to adjust man to the rapid changes in this tremendous age? What can it do to develop the socialized individual? Must the church quibble over scriptural technicalities when the whole crust of civilization is torn by social upheavals, and when millions of souls fail to develop a personality in a mechanized and commercial age?

As the church begins to confront such issues as these, it seeks the aid of psychology and sociology in adapting its program to the new day—so full of marvelous opportunities for Christian service. And in its endeavor to build human character in a complex society, it will clearly discern the socialization problem.

The socialized religion will not divide communities, and cut asunder the forces of Christianity; it will unite them. It will not accentuate men's intolerance, bigotry, and anti-sociality; it will expand their tolerance, sympathy, and sociability. And it will not paralyze the personality of man with an impersonal God, a mechanical universe, and a cold rationalized set of ethics; it will save and develop the individual soul through a personal God, a personal Saviour, a personal immortality, and a spiritual expression of the individuality. The religion of tomorrow will also develop a socialized man in a socialized community.

Today, as never before, people are beginning to judge the effect of religion upon the individual by the extent to which he is socialized and properly adjusted to his human relations. One of the most common experiences in religious conversion is the evolution from the ego-centric self to the social self, and from the problems which concern the individual to those which concern society. Conversion is the birth of the larger self defined in a world full of the larger, more extensive human relationships. Starbuck [2] states the idea: "From the standpoint of development, the essential thing under these two aspects of the new life is the breaking of the shell that has bound the self in its narrow limits, the emerging of the life into the social whole, the going out lovingly and sympathetically as a factor in society, the reaching out into, and becoming one with the Power that Makes for Righteousness, in short, the bursting the limits of self and being born into a larger life."

Religion aims at the better adaptation of the personality to the higher cultural side of life. Normally creed and belief are used as criteria of the Christian life, but actually the performances of the Christian among his neighbors and within his community are considered as measures of the

[2] Starbuck, E. D., *Psychology of Religion,* p. 130. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

power of his religion to do the actual work of life. Right relations with God are achieved by right relations to the human beings surrounding us. To hate them, to criticize them intolerantly, to scandalize them, to humiliate them or to snub them, and at the same time to love God would be a paradox. Many churches have their period of probation, and may expel the candidate who drinks, carouses, and fraternizes with immoral people. The rich churchman who sits on the front pew with his hymnal, but works children in sweat shops, is viewed with suspicion as to his sincerity. Even the most dogmatic and bigoted of church adherents are unconsciously using the social-performance test when it comes to filling positions of trust or selecting companions for a trip. The over-emphasis upon the creed and other technicalities has, no doubt, acted as an adverse selective factor to keep many thinking men and forceful leaders out of active church work. The socialized church of the future will enlist the human type of leaders who will widen its horizon and vision. With a religion interpreted by sociology the intolerant type of sectarianism will die out, and the finest leadership will be enlisted in the work of the church.

One outstanding fact about Christ, aside from his Divinity, was his Sociology and Humanism. In every way his philosophy of human relations accords with that of the social service worker, the community builder, and the philanthropist. His system of sociology was drawn, not from tradition, but was taken from his travels, interviews, and observations with human groups and individuals. He defined life in sociological terms by contrasting human contacts with the monastic life, humanism with clanism, democracy with caste spirit, social service to the maladjusted and crippled with profession of holiness, love of neighbor and mutual aid with elaborate ritual, and parable taken from nature with scriptural tradition. Society, through the parable of the buried talent, was admonished to dedicate itself to the sociological task of utilizing potential talent.

Religion turns upon a plan of elevating man through a process of transforming the primitive, cave-man self into a human self by means of improved associations. No greater proof of the transformation of the soul exists than a rise in the cultural desires, and the formation of a set of higher social attachments. The boy who transfers his associations from the loafing bench to the library, who shifts his social exposures from the vulgar street gang to the Boy Scouts, and who changes his reading repertoire from risqué novels to substantial classics proves his conversion to a higher plane of psychic life.

The social concept of salvation is gaining prestige. Campaigns for Boy Scouts, the community recreation center, and the community motion

picture association indicate the shift to the social theory of salvation. This does not mean that the individual is absolved from all personal responsibility to his God, but that his desire for right living will be aided in its effective functioning by the social control of his community environment. Unless religious revivals are followed up by a program of education and social engineering in which the converts are given group activities which socialize them, there is likely to be a heavy crop of "backsliders." When the recently converted youth has to return to the "back-alley" gang for his recreational associates, it is likely that many of his individual resolves will soon succumb to group standards.

When religion is conceived of as a socializing institution, we have a basis for comparing religions on the ground of their social and anti-social doctrines. With this viewpoint we can work out a sort of social analysis or test of a religion. The following items suggest themselves:

1. Tolerance
2. Humanism
3. Social service
4. Expression of human life

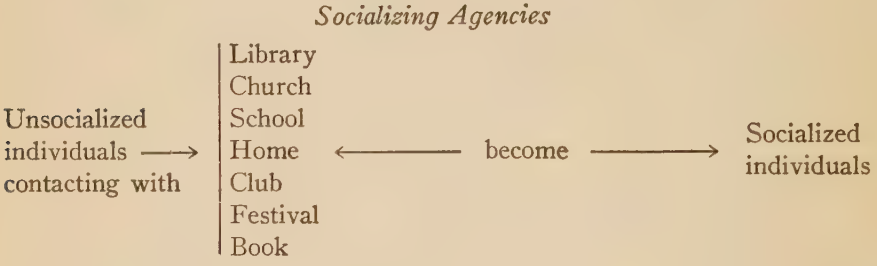
On examination many religions will be found with such anti-social doctrines as that of subordination of women, divine right of an aristocracy to rule, duty of the poor to obey, isolation and segregation of sect, and repression of the natural instincts. As long as some of these tenets were placed on a shelf and labeled "Sacred," they were not subject to thoughtful inspection.

Today religion suffers from narrow, sectarian intolerance and bigotry, which defines the church program in terms of "out-of-date" theological doctrines rather than in terms of the normal expression of human nature. "Millions for the defense" of sectarian interest, but "not one cent" for the development of community service, has too often been a far-flung cry of ecclesiastical "churchanity." Rival sects have over-churched communities and have fomented expensive religious contests. Christianity and religion have too often been advertised by church controversies and an anti-social, anti-Christian attitude toward fellow human beings of other sects. The communityization of religion waits upon the socialization of religion. When the church adopts a religion of neighbor-sympathy, mutual aid, child welfare, and human service, it will enter a modern, twentieth-century renaissance. It is of great significance to the leadership of Christ in this modern age that his sociology has stood critical inspection and will form the foundation of the New Society, dedicated to the efficient socialization

of a culturally-starved and clannish race. The inconsistency of any church creed which inculcates bigotry and intolerance with the humanistic and democratic teaching of the Master Sociologist will be revealed, and a religious renaissance ushered in.

THE END OF ALL HUMAN INSTITUTIONS IS SOCIALIZATION

Institutions are the mechanisms and structures which function the race sociologically. Organizations are to a large extent social-contact machines and foci for psychic exposures. The following diagram illustrates this view of social institutions:



THE RISE OF SOCIAL VALUE

Many things are contributing toward an increasing valuation upon the more spiritual, social, and intangible things of life. Machinery is creating an enormous fund of leisure time and effecting a great economy of human energy. With this surplus time and energy, there comes a demand for social institutions, and cultural services. With increasing numbers of idle hours, there comes a closer scrutiny of the social development of the community which contains the farm, and the value of the neighborhood as a socializing mechanism. While the avocational and cultural worth of a locality is of little moment to the "sixteen-hour-a-day" farmer, it is of great import to the "nine-hour-a-day" agriculturist. At the same time, this machinery which liberates energy and time to enjoy psychic things enormously cheapens material commodities, and so tends to push them into the background. And so again social value gains.

While automobiles, motion pictures, printing presses, phonographs and radios vastly extend the range of such social and cultural services as singing, speaking, and preaching, and would thus seem to deflate their value through an oversupply, these instruments of communication also enormously multiply the number of consumers of psychic goods, and greatly

stimulate the demand for cultural things. The economy of talent effected through the radio and motion picture is probably more than offset by the augmented demand for drama and music. In the days of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* people were content to see this performance repeated annually, but in this "movie" age people demand so many new plays each year that the employment of thousands of actors on a vast scale is made possible. With radios comes a new desire for concerts and lectures, with automobiles and gravel roads comes a big demand for recreational agencies. With cheap printing comes a continuous demand for thousands of "brand new" books on a great diversity of subjects. Thus the modern age has several powerful factors which are expanding social values.

With the advent of machine production, the proportion of a nation's wealth existing in the form of material things diminishes, while the proportion existing in the form of intangible, social relations increases. The value of a business is less and less in the physical equipment, and more and more in its good-will and confidence. Farm values contain a smaller and smaller proportion of capitalized rent value, and a larger proportion of social value.

Whereas, from 1910 to 1920, the number of workers in agriculture decreased; whereas those engaged in mining increased about 15 percent, and whereas those engaged in manufacturing increased approximately 20 percent, the workers along such lines as religious, educational, and charitable service increased nearly 200 percent. There was also an increase of nearly 400 percent of those engaged in making automobiles. Such social utility professions as authorship, ministry, theater management, increased around 63 percent. With the development of civilization, professional classes grow at the expense of classes in basic industries. At the same time, there arises a demand for colleges and specialized education.

Engel [3] enunciated the rule that as any family advances up the income scale, the proportion of their income spent for such material wants as food and shelter decreases, while the proportion of their income spent for such cultural and psychic things as books and music increases. For the most part, the same principle holds true for a nation or a civilization. A people's material wants are comparatively inelastic as compared to the psychic wants. The Russian laborer or peasant, who was denied for centuries the privileges of culture, and who was fed with the bare necessities of existence, greedily consumed school books when liberated from czarism. Poor families often deny themselves cultural utilities, not because of inherent poverty of wants, but because the lack of money income and the

[3] See Ely, Richard T., *Outlines of Economics*, p. 145. The Macmillan Co. 1919.

absence of free, public-supported institutions afford them no chance to realize their potential social desires.

Social expenditures, community and national, reflect the emphasis put upon psychic utilities. Schools represent nothing in the way of a product that can be measured in pounds or bushels, but rather typify a socialization factory where plastic beings are brought into contact with books, nature, persons, and teachers. Yet, a state like Iowa spends for education 47.1 cents out of the tax payer's dollar. Many Western Iowa communities spend from $4,000 to $6,000 annually for such social agencies as chautauquas, lyceums, churches, clubs, and community programs. The progress of social expenditures can be noted in the national budget. Such industries as are engaged in the production of telephones, radios, phonographs, motion picture films, automobiles, and books are rising into industries of first magnitude. The study of the preceding figures shows that a constantly diminishing proportion of our national labor and capital fund is employed in industries which minister to the physical want of life.

Cooley[4] has developed a sort of law for progress values which he states thus: "Apart from any definite medium of exchange there is a system of mental barter, as you might call it, in universal operation, by which values are compared definitely enough to make choice possible. . . . But the human mind, ever developing its instruments, has come to supplement this psychical barter of values by something more precise, communicable and uniform, and so we arrive at pecuniary valuation. . . . The large fact to bear in mind, in the connection, is that we have, on the one hand, a world of psychical values, whose reality is shown in their power to influence conduct, and, on the other, a world of prices, which apparently exists to give all kinds of psychical value general validity and exact expression, but which seems to do this in a partial and inadequate manner."

Most of our social barter, which consists in companionship for companionship, thought for thought, personality for personality, is still psychic. Yet we are seeing many of these social values being given a pecuniary valuation in the money budgets of a community or nation. At first the social service worker labors as a volunteer to render a psychic value, but afterwards she is given a pecuniary reward of $2000 a year by society. As psychic values emerge into the money market, society must increase its money currency.

The rise of social values is reflected in land and property values. Residential values in the city vary quite directly with the social environment. Proximity to schools, churches, libraries, and recreation centers,

[4] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Process*, pp. 332-333. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

coupled with desirable neighbors, may double or even treble the value of a city bungalow. The "tough" neighborhood, coupled with the erection of a sign board, may cost the owner of a city residence five thousand dollars. On this account cities, through zoning laws, protect the investors in homes against despoilers of social value. In primitive or pioneer society these residential values are not prominent. The pioneer lived a life poor in human contacts and group activities. In his naked-handed battle for existence, such advantages as soil, water supply, natural drainage, and wind protection, bulked large with him. Moreover, he was an individualistic, self-reliant type, who could live without much human contact. His children, however, who have been raised in an age of schools, clubs, and churches have developed a strong appetite for group activity.

Today, real estate agents, acting upon the assumption that the new farmer must find much of his life in human society, stress the social advantages in the way of schools, recreation centers, and churches, which the ownership of a particular farm will secure. The house is no longer a mere shelter, or the home a camping place for farm laborers. It must function in a higher way than as a mere boarding house and workshop. It must be a place in which to live, as well as in which to make a living. When securing information on investments, prospective buyers of farms ask about the social facilities first.

The pecuniary valuation that may be placed upon a farm home because of its social advantages is difficult to estimate, although market prices clearly reflect it in their differentials. In some rural communities farmers state that consolidated schools have raised the value of their land from $25 an acre to $50 an acre. In case the tax levy is so high as to be confiscatory, it reduces the sale value of the farm. Thus there are isolated bits of land in America which are as rich in fertility and crop power as $200-an-acre Iowa land, but which, because of bad social conditions, can be had for $100 an acre. Certainly, an Iowa farm in unsettled Borneo, granting transportation facilities as cheap as those in Iowa, would not be worth even $100 an acre. That it is difficult to calculate the effect of a "live" community church or farm bureau on land values, is forcibly demonstrated by the premium paid by certain religious sects to secure a farm near their fraternal neighborhood and church. If social value added even $10 per acre, it would amount to $300,000 for most communities. In the typically "tough" neighborhood, farms move very slowly, but in the perimeter around a progressive country town even land which is beyond the scope of town lot companies sells at an advance of from $50 to $75 per acre.

It is the element of social value that to a large degree explains the dis-

crepancy between the market value of a farm and its capitalized rent. In England, this differential is very pronounced, owing to the fact that estates are wanted by the nobility for their social prestige; consequently they are bid up above their agricultural value. For this reason the entrepreneur, who may be a capitalist, rents the estate instead of buying it. In many corn-belt communities the rate of return upon farm land is below 4 percent. Why will the landowner take less than a going return? The possibility of speculative gain by rising land prices is dubious. The security of land investment will not content buyers with a low interest rate when municipal government and first mortgage securities are on the market at 5 or 6 percent. During the last decade residential home values have made their appearance in farm prices quite rapidly, and this fact raises the question as to whether the taxing of this increment of value may not penalize the efforts of people to lift their social level.

PSYCHIC INCOME AND SOCIALIZATION

With an aristocracy of wealth a society tends to attach too much prestige and importance to the part of income which is visible and tangible. A class which is often rich in money but poor in culture is loath to distinguish between money income and psychic income. Cooley [5] shows how a class whose riches are in material things forces its measure of success upon the masses. "The power of wealth over public sentiment is exercised partly through sway over the educated classes and press, but also by the more direct channel of prestige. Minds of no great insight, that is to say the majority, mold their ideals from the spectacle of visible and tangible success. In a commercial epoch this pertains to the rich; who consequently add to the other sources of their influence power over the imagination. Millions accept the money-making ideal who are unsuited to attain it, and they run themselves out of breath and courage in a race they should never have entered; it is as if the thin-legged and flat-chested people of the land should seek glory in football. The money-game is mere foolishness and mortification for most of us, and there is a madness of the crowd in the way we enter into it."

Physical consumption and material wealth can be measured in such visible concrete units as dollars, and a race of people whose modal intelligence is that of a fourteen-year-old boy is dominated by the physical eye. On the other hand, we have never given school children a definite measure of the invisible and intangible portions of income and wealth. Psychic

[5] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, pp. 271-272. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

dollars have never been given the prestige of physical dollars, and therefore have never been used to measure human income. Until we can compute income in these psychic terms and units, and set it on the credit column of the ledger of life to offset a lack of dollar income, we shall never send many young people on the quest for psychic return. In short, we shall have to create a concept of psychic income different from that of money income in order to bring about a modern spiritual revival that shall inoculate the masses against the ravages of "dollaritis."

Money merely gives possession of a physical device through which psychic income can be derived, such as a library or a piano. But without intellectual interests and musical appreciation, these agencies of socialization are never utilized to yield a psychic income. Especially is this true when the library and piano are bought either to impress people, or to maintain external appearances. Two pianos in different homes may be equal in money value, but differ by three hundred percent in their yield of psychic income to their owners. Of two boys sent to college at a cost of seven hundred dollars a year, one may receive ten times the psychic return from lectures, group life, and books, as the other. Wealthy students are apt to camouflage a lack of psychic income by a conspicuous expenditure of money income for the display of autos, furs, and luxurious service. Since there is, as yet, no scientific way of exposing their deficiency, they often succeed in their "bluff." In an age when books were costly and theaters within reach of only the "fat" pocketbook, wealth gave a considerable advantage in the way of access to socializing agencies. Today, —thanks to the free libraries, families, schools, and social centers—middle-class and even lower middle-class families can gain possession of all the vital socializing mechanisms. Travel, books, schools, churches, clubs, "movies," lectures, and radios are within reach of the farmers' and the laborers' pocketbook.

The utilization of libraries, community programs, free band concerts, and free extension lectures, depends more upon the level of educated wants than upon the size of the bank account. Thus no longer can we evaluate the psychic income of middle-class people in terms of their pay check. When psychic utilities are obtained only in a pecuniary market by purchasing power, the income in social goods correlates more closely with the money income. However, in most rural communities as well as city communities, such agencies of culturization as libraries, clubs, churches, schools, etc., require a payment only proportional to the income for their services. The main investment and cost is time, and this invisible entity, the Creator distributes equally between poor and rich. Furthermore, the

variation in leisure time is being reduced by machinery and the short work day, so that the common laborer and renter have a considerable time fund for securing a psychic return. It cannot be controverted that wealth and affluence is the admission ticket to exclusive clubs and élite social circles. But this in one way means deprivation from socializing situations. In fact, such a caste and clique society becomes effete and narrow unless nurtured by new blood. Cooley[6] writes: "The common people, as a rule, live more in the central current of human experience than men of wealth or distinction. Domestic morality, religious sentiment, faith in man and God, loyalty to country and the like, are the fruit of the human heart growing in homely conditions, and they easily wither when these conditions are lost. . . . Some tendency to isolation and spiritual impoverishment is likely to go with any sort of distinction or privilege. Wealth, culture, reputation, bring special gratifications. These foster special tastes, and these in turn give rise to special ways of living and thinking which imperceptibly separate one from common sympathy and put him in a special class. . . . 'Sloth or cowardice,' says a psychologist, 'creep in with every dollar and guinea we have to guard. . . . Lives based on having are less free than lives based on either doing or being.' "

The pecuniary value of psychic income can be computed roughly by the amount of money wage which it will offset, or, technically speaking, by the salary differential between positions similar in type and equal in ability requirements. The position which surrounds the worker with congenial society can be filled at less than "going wages." For instance, a one-thousand-dollar teaching job may be worth more in an American college town than a three-thousand-dollar teaching job in an isolated district in Alaska, where the associates are Esquimaux. A professor of chemistry would find little solace in managing a department store, although his pay were twice as great. What he gained in dollars, he would more than lose in the decay of his talents and scientific personality. Although primitive people attach little importance to cultural income, civilized society posits a considerable psychic differential between different locations and jobs. While the money-minded man would just as soon sell can-openers as follow the ministerial profession, if it made him an extra hundred dollars, the man with true professional standards would balk. The following Figure 2 illustrates the principle of psychic compensation for lack of money pay.

In this hypothetical case the job which has the lesser money income

[6] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, pp. 136-138. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

has the greater total income. In the vocational guidance of the future, we shall endeavor to rate the various types of jobs from the standpoint of their psychic, social, and cultural aspects. It is only when we have a human being comparing two positions that we can equate the psychic element in money terms.

A large share of psychic income never flows through the channels of economic markets and the machinery of money exchange. Some firms, on Christmas day, write checks paying 365 days of happiness to their

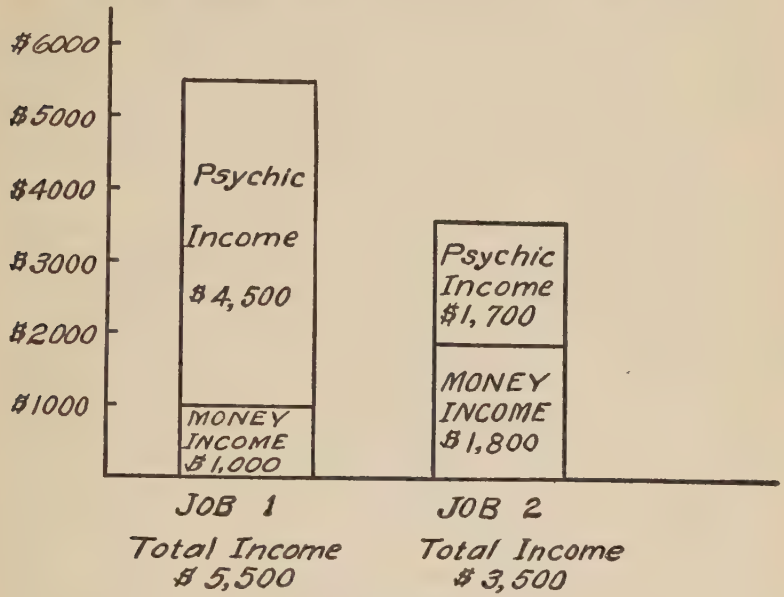


FIGURE 2
Money Income and Psychic Income

employees and thereby recognize the element of psychic value. Within a year's time, we receive hundreds of contacts with books, clubs, programs, and people, which are never entered in the ledger of financial transactions. As far as the exchange of psychic utilities goes, we are in the barter stage in which one man exchanges an hour's conversation for an hour's conversation while another sings in the choir for the subsequent opportunity of sitting in a Bible class. One thousand people exchange their time and plaudits to listen to the home orchestra, where a thousand hour-exposures are made. Thus, a large amount of social value has been introduced into the community, while the only financial transaction is the few

dollars that pay for the rent of the hall. In the study of Western Iowa communities, it was estimated that several communities had from thirty to ninety thousand social contacts within a year's time to credit on their psychic ledger. The budget for the organizations which furnished these contacts ranged within the narrow limits of from $3000-$4000, and gave very slight indication as to the psychic income of the communities in question.

Thus in a civilized community and a complex society, the psychic stream of intangible, immaterial goods that never flow through the bank books is vast. The evaluated money income of a community is like the upper sixth or seventh of an iceberg which floats above the ocean of community life. How shall we measure and more accurately analyze this psychic income, which is so important an indication of the true return of a rural community? How shall some method be devised by which sociological dollars can be computed?

It is often assumed that the farmer who is wealthy and has a fine home receives a handsome psychic income. Such is the illusion that comes from reasoning from surface indications. Where this farmer's wealth is chargeable not to his intellectual ability but to inheritance or speculative gains, it is by no means an infrequent occurrence to find social poverty. The imposing library, with its beautifully bound books which match the carpet, is not used; the grand piano is silent. What is worse, the fine home erects a social barrier to free neighboring. Instead of teaching the Bible class or leading the Boy Scouts, he annually sends a substantial check to the treasurer of the welfare association, and to the church steward. In many cases the wealthy farmer has so inured himself to threadbare economy and habits of penury that he is mentally incapacitated from enjoying anything but money-getting and land-grabbing. "To buy more land to raise more corn, to raise more hogs, to buy more land" constitutes a vicious circle into which he has fallen and which precludes the possibility of raising his social income.

We have only begun to organize society to produce, distribute, and enjoy psychic utilities. For a century all the energy of the nation was consumed in the struggle for a mere physical existence. The brains of scientists labored with the problems of organizing the machinery of industry to liberate a fund of leisure time for socialization. As psychic income, because of the growing importance of the problem of utilizing time for the fine art of living, rises into importance, people will not only pay more attention to the devices, conditions, institutions, and factors which

control the production of psychic utilities, but will view farms from the standpoint of social as well as money return.

ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY FOR THE CREATION OF SOCIAL UTILITIES—AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM OF CIVILIZATION

Economics has often been defined as the science of the production, valuation, distribution, and consumption of economic utilities. For the most part it has confined itself to the study of industrial organization, which produces such material commodities as can be sold at the money mart. It has never given much attention to organizing talent, professional service, thought, happiness, and the forces which create psychic utilities. In fact the physiocrats did not consider such services as singing, preaching, or teaching as creating anything valuable, since their utility could not be measured in physical units such as bushels or pounds. With the psychological school, however, we get economic utility defined as the capacity to satisfy a human want, whether it be for corn fritters or for lectures on spiritualism. Thus, in this broad sense, economics enters the sociological field, and so deals with the organization of society to produce psychic goods. But, here, economics must cease thinking in terms of factories and bank books. Instead it must translate itself into the economy of community churches, recreation centers, study clubs, and of social contacts.

While such utilities can be termed economic, they follow different laws of supply and demand than do material utilities. Now it is true that these psychic utilities are so limited by the scarcity of human ability and mental energy that they attain in numerous instances a market valuation, because we must usually hire ministers, lecturers, and musicians as we hire bricklayers. But let us realize that, as compared to labor, which produces physical commodities, only a small part of the labor expended to produce psychic goods is paid for. The bulk of the units of psychic income which flow into a rural community is created by volunteer rather than by paid labor. Again, a material utility is limited as to its consumption, and cannot be extended without cutting the share to the consumers. Five more people at the table means a smaller piece of fried chicken for each, but five more people at church does not mean a smaller share of the sermon. Furthermore, material utilities, such as steel rails, may be produced by a polyglot of races that speak different tongues, through an efficient industrial organization; whereas social psychic utilities, such as community programs, cannot be produced by such a heterogeneous group, for more attention must

be paid to the social and cultural adaptability, or, in short, to the human factor. While definite rules, directions, and scales of pay make it possible for the Pole and the Scotchman to work together in producing fine shoes—since the co-operation is impersonal and mechanical—only certain social and human bonds could render the co-operation of the two effective in the conduct of a club or church.

Economic organization operates through price formulæ and utilizes money-pay as a motivation to effort. In the field where psychic goods are created, pecuniary reward operates not only feebly but disastrously, with the result that church life, club life, and recreational life become commercialized. Add money to recreational service and you develop the "mercenary movie" and "amusement park." Add money without any social control to the church and you lure in a set of imposters and pretenders. The finest artistic creations and literary productions cannot be bribed into existence with a money reward. Such psychic rewards as the consciousness of service well rendered and socially recognized must operate. Thus economic schemes of valuation, price rewards, and industrial methods of organization are inadequate when society must be organized for the creation of psychic goods.

We are, then, at grips with a problem, the solution of which gives sociology, rural as well as urban, a distinctive field. It is in this field of the organization of society for the creation of psychic utilities that the social engineer can make a valuable contribution to human progress, and can be spared the necessity of borrowing data or methods from other sciences. The organization of society, the building of communities for the production, distribution, and consumption of psychic goods assumes that the sociologist, by manipulating the relations between men and institutions, can exercise control over the breadth and the depth of the social contact stream. The chemist creates milk, perfumes, and diamonds through the method of "creative synthesis," in which he merely rearranges atomic rectangles within the molecule. The social engineer, by "wiring" up individuals or organizations in a different system of relations, can double or treble the production of psychic utilities. Things change when they enter into different relations to other things, just as the soldier is one man in church and another in the bayonet charge. We do not have to sit idly by and give up either the League of Nations or the Community Association under the excuse that human nature is still dominatingly of the "cave-man" type. Using this logic, the sociologist will not remain idle, awaiting the breeding up of a new human nature, but will set about to organize men into the relations and institutions which develop and fix their

best, rather than their worst, self. Generally a certain amount of analysis must precede the work of rebuilding, because knowledge of how society and its communities are articulated will suggest better schemes of integration. The sociologist, then, believes that great differentials in psychic income result from different types of community organization, coupled with various systems of internal grouping.

In measuring, analyzing, and factoring the ability of different systems of social organization to yield units of psychic income, the sociologist will become as much of an engineer as the bridge builder who organizes bolts and girders. No longer will the rural sociologist be tempted to sponge indiscriminately from other sciences and justify himself by humanizing their material. The measurement of the social horse-power of different systems of social organization and the manipulation of human and organizational relations to attain social efficiency will put the sociologist at a task which is sociological, and which will demarcate the science of society from the philosophy of the literature of society.

WE ARE UNDER THE NECESSITY OF CREATING NEW SOCIAL BONDS

Without some form of social cement, rampant individualism would plunge society into a state of anarchy. Civilization makes its rise and fall in terms of its ability to secure group-producing forces that are humanitarian. Not only does the individual function as a human being through groups, but the community lives its psychic life through groups. Upon what bonds are we going to depend for social solidarity? Will they be so exclusive as to disrupt community consciousness? In many communities the bond of blood, or of religious tradition, is the chief binder, the result being clan feuds, antagonisms, and sectarian strife. Clannishness blocks the growth of co-operative organizations which must organize on larger units than neighborhoods. In hundreds of rural areas community building is today impeded by family feuds, church rows, farm-union-bureau quarrels, and anti-town consciousness.

As long as association and organization need not pass beyond the family or tribe, there are no difficulties in using the blood bond to maintain social solidarity. But the time is past when society can run upon the clan basis. Immigration of unlike nationalities and internal migration have made us a composite population. Rural population is comparatively homogeneous in the corn belt, yet it is divided into racial groups and religious sects. Few rural communities have formed by the settlement of a single strain. Dunker, Amana, and Holland communities existing

in Iowa have a strong social solidarity that begets community effort; but the typical community has at least three racial and family factions.

In an early day locality and neighborhood were magic words for conjuring "we feeling." The bond of common adventures and hardships exerted a strong pull upon the pioneer. During the last fifteen years, however, the automobile has extended the farmer's area of association far beyond the neighborhood. What shall be the new social bonds that shall give the community its solidarity? What shall fill the gap in the transition from neighborhood to community? We are coming to an era of community building, and must have some sort of social mortar to bind together the bricks of the new structure.

The rapid growth of groups based upon the co-operative cultivation of common interests gives a key to this new bond. Broader than consanguinity, deeper than locality or occupation, and more human than race is the bond of common interest in such things as music, art, and science. Such bases of association as family, clan, locality, occupation, etc., are apt to narrow the range and variety of the social contacts, and conduce to a "lop-sided" development of the self. Two members of the same family, race, locality, or sect may differ so radically in interests, that they will co-operate poorly in carrying out social and educational projects. Mere physical resemblance as the basis of social solidarity is too superficial to serve as a foundation for building the machinery of socialization. The most significant thing about a man is not such artificial, arbitrary labels as "Democrat," "Farmer," "Spiritualist," terms by which we try to pigeon-hole people in hard and fast classifications. The most significant thing about the man may be that he is interested in music and geology. The Jew and the Gentile who are studying together the potato blight have no trouble in forming an attachment. The Democrat who believes in a labor program finds his political brother in a Republican who sympathizes with the cause of the working man. There is a real bond between the factory superintendent and the lathe-man who sing bass and tenor on the same quartette.

Interest groups, particularly those of the specialized type, cannot thrive on local or even family association. While the clan-bond is provincial, the interest-bond is cosmopolitan. Family association can thrive, notwithstanding the local limitations of the horse and buggy. On the other hand, interest association must, in many cases, be based on automobile transportation, which can bring together a few debaters from several widely separated towns.

And the interest bond that is engendered, when a group of kindred

spirits meet to cultivate a particular "hobby," develops the most intensive type of human contact. Castes do not develop, since the society always welcomes the new devotee of the activity whether it be botany or music. The ticket of entry into the group is never wealth, birth, or social rank; it is special ability and cultural interests. One aspect of the socialization of people will be the organization of a variety of interest groups.

Interest grouping is a powerful prophylactic not only against mob and crowd organization, but against the growth of caste and class consciousness of the intolerant, dangerous type. The following diagram illustrates how

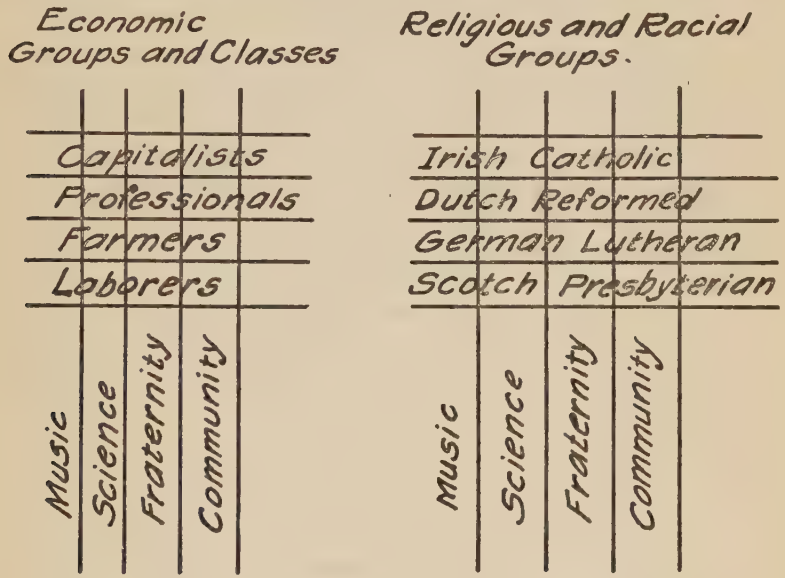


FIGURE 3

The Power of Interest-Groups to Break More Artificial Social Stratifications

interest groups are like vertical planes of social mind, cutting down through the strata of society which have been deposited by a long period of class segregation.

These interest planes cut cross sections through our racial and economic classes, and thus prevent violent social explosions. When farmer, laborer, and capitalist join the same lodge or study groups, we gradually build up a liberal, stabilizing class that can see beyond selfish class interests. An interesting illustration showing how contrast of type is stronger than the artificial classifications based upon religious sect, is the splitting of various

denominations into Fundamentalists and Modernists, and the consequent organization of each faction into a propagandist group.

SOCIALIZATION INSURES AGAINST THE CURSE OF PEASANTISM

We want a civilization rather than a peonage upon the land. No nation can afford to pursue a blind, stupid policy of encouraging intensive manual agriculture that gives a high product per acre and a low product per man. In too many cases, statesmen talk about the efficient utilization of *acres* rather than of *men,* and of the development of *natural* resources rather than of *human* resources. A peasantry, living on subsistence rations, may furnish cheap labor and cheap produce; but it is sterile as far as citizenship is concerned. Eking out a meager existence as dulled, stupid, soil dredgers without vision or living standards, a peasantry is as hopeless as the burnt-out surface of the moon. In many countries peonage is the dread blight of rural civilization, the outcome of a long process of "folk depletion" [7] in which leadership and initiative have been "skimmed" from the land. Owing to selective migration, a community with low standards of cultural interest is in danger of gradually degenerating into a peasantry.

A peasant does not care for home conveniences, consolidated schools, or Ford cars; a peasant does not care for any type of religion that is not emotional, superstitious, and fanatical; a peasant does not care for educational lectures, farm bureau programs, or libraries. His higher instincts have been repressed so long that they have atrophied. In most ways he is a sample of social starvation; he is poor in wants as well as in things.

In only a few isolated spots have we developed, in America, anything approaching a peasantry. Our rural population has not only been in too close contact with urban life to become rustic, but it has also migrated too freely to become land-tied. As yet, the selective force of migration has not had time to work itself out. To find the slovenly run-down homes, the crude tools, the sluggish visionless mind, that denote the coming of peasantry, we have to seek such abnormal regions as the mountains of Missouri or Kentucky, or such areas of Illinois or Kansas which, being held in large blocks by absentee capitalists, are "farmed out" to one-year tenants.

A peasantry is the result of social starvation. Without a community life that offers some opportunity for culture and talent, there will be an exodus of the talented and social. Only those who care for nothing higher than three meals a day and a roof over their heads will stay.

[7] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology,* pp. 24-25. The Century Co., 1920.

LACK OF SOCIALIZATION THE TAP-ROOT OF POPULAR DISCONTENT

Prosperity without a corresponding intensification of the socialization process aggravates rather than mitigates discontent. The peasant resigns himself stoically to perpetual penury and fixes his hope upon the next life. It is the man that has risen from bookkeeper to cashier that desires to be bank president. A multitude of farmers, small business men, and skilled workers are "embryonic millionaires"; this is shown by the avidity with which they speculate for bigger stakes. Thus wealth and prosperity, acting as stimulants, set off forces which, if not spent in securing socialization, may be used to overturn the social order.

No amount of material goods will satisfy the innate craving of the individual for social and psychic life. While much of the discontent among the laboring masses and much of the unrest in rural districts has been ascribed to poverty in things, its real cause is dissatisfaction with the social and cultural life. We are witnessing today a great movement in the masses of all nations for a share of the "higher things" of life, which hitherto has been considered possible only for an aristocracy of wealth and leisure. This struggle for a cultural standard of living has taken the form of strikes, boycotts, labor parties, direct action, etc. Naturally it is this more spectacular aspect that has attracted public attention. Higher wage scales and shorter work days, when translated into socialization, mean books, phonographs, and radios, plus time to utilize them. At the bottom of all social revolutions have been the efforts of a few to maintain a towering, luxurious living standard at the cost of benumbing toil and a bleak life for the masses. The striking phenomenon of nearly all revolutions has been the the precipitate rush of the unschooled, illiterate mass for the schoolroom and the book-shelf. A labor leader in a Wisconsin town was asked why he was ordering a strike for one dollar an hour. His reply was: "So that the children of our carpenters may have the opportunity to have an education and culture like the children of the well-to-do." There is little necessity of elaborate arguments to conclude that the stability of a democracy depends upon the easy access of the rank and file to socializing agencies.

The conspicuous consumption of material things before the eyes of the proletariat is socially dangerous when that proletariat attaches much importance to such externalities as the measure of life. Envy, jealousy, and hatred are engendered. It is doubtful if the French Revolution would have had its cruel violence if the starving peasants had not seen the silks and velvets of the *noblesse* flaunted before their eyes. An aristocracy of culture, which displays books, scientific research, and statuary, excites the

spirit of emulation rather than of petty jealousy. Cooley [8] calls attention to the social effects of the ascendency of an aristocracy of wealth and conspicuous consumption. "The capitalist represents power over those social values that are tangible and obvious enough to have a definite standing in the market. His money and prestige will command food, houses, clothes, tools, and all conventional and standard sorts of personal service, from lawn-mowing to the administration of a railroad, not genius or love or anything of that nature. . . . The power of wealth over public sentiment is exercised partly through sway over the educated classes and the press, but also by the more direct channel of prestige."

Our best guarantee for social stability is a wider utilization of our existing culture by the masses. With the mass fully socialized, there will be a disappearance of the desire to tear down ruthlessly the fabric of civilization, since too much will be at stake in the way of culture and social organization. The best antidote to a dangerous growth of anarchism is a national system of consolidated schools, free libraries, free clinics, free playgrounds, free recreation centers, coupled with government aid in founding homes. If large incomes could be made to do their share in installing the agencies of socialization for society, we should, at a stroke, remove much discontent, since the end of much human endeavor would be attained. We shall never have a solid basis for progress as long as a large portion of our working population is socially emaciated.

CONCLUSION. GENERAL NATURE OF THE SOCIALIZATION PROBLEM

To a large degree, what is true about the socialization of rural society is true of society as a whole. Socialization, while studied with more accuracy in the rural community, is a problem of urban civilization. In an age of slow transportation with ox-carts, it was natural that the problem of socialization would be "pinned on" to sparsely settled, isolated rural districts, where there seemed to be a dearth of gregarious life. The crowded city street with its milling throngs and overflowing amusement halls seems anything but a social Sahara. Yet the very glamour and surface-noise of city society may be but a camouflage for its emptiness as far as vital and constructive social contacts are concerned. Polish and affectation veil the fact that some are starving for social contacts while immersed in crowds of strangers, and that others suffer nervous exhaustion from a surfeit of devitalizing society events. To fasten the stigma of social starvation upon

[8] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, pp. 268-271. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

rural communities, because they are used as a field of investigation, would be a rank injustice.

Socialization is a general problem which has numerous ramifications. With its solution many of the most perplexing problems of modern civilization would be solved. Can the study of rural communities aid us in defining it, factoring it, and controlling it?

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Are all of our public men convinced that the most fundamental problem of rural society is socialization? Why? Show how the economic theory of progress, enunciated so powerfully by Karl Marx, influences our thinking about the solution of the rural problem. Why does the sociological interpretation of history and progress come later than the economic?
2. What is meant by the statement, that types of farming and industry *select* the type of farmer rather than *make* him? What effect would the improvement of the farmer as an intelligent educated being have upon tenancy, roads, modern homes, and advanced social organizations? Briefly review the problems and institutional maladjustments which grow out of an undersocialized farmer.
3. Is there anything inherent in the economics of co-operation which prevents farmers from co-operating in buying and selling their products? Is there anything in the sociology of farmers which brings many excellent co-operative schemes "on the rocks"?
4. What is the result of economic prosperity in a social Sahara? Why does society organize wealth-getting activities before wealth-using activities? Explain the natural and ready growth of Mutual Aid and Agricultural Co-operation in Germany and Denmark.
5. Assuming that education is a process of adjustment, what is the most important adjustment the rural child must make? What social problems arise through maladjusted pupils who entered the "Great Society"? Relate the increase of leisure time to the necessity of educating for the avocations. Distinguish between "fact education" and "sociological education."
6. Distinguish between a religion of form and a religion of social performance and human relations. What do we mean when we say that the religious center of gravity is shifting to the sociological and that sect-forming, metaphysical differences will no longer divide the religious world? Distinguish between the concepts of religion as

abnormal life and normal life. What anti-social elements have crept into religion? What do we mean by humanizing or socializing religion? Show the importance of organizing the community to supply the right social contacts to the youth "who has made a start in Christian Living."

7. Show that socialization is the best reason for organizing clubs, societies, and other institutions.
8. Why do people talk of rural welfare in terms of material things? How far can we use economic machinery in the efficient creation of social utilities? Illustrate the rise of psychic utilities and social values in society. Show how the social environment of the home and farm is exerting a continually increasing influence over its value. Distinguish between psychic income and money income. Account for the money ideal and pecuniary valuation.
9. To what extent does the creation and utilization of psychic utilities follow the same laws as the economic production and consumption of material goods?
10. Why are we under the necessity of creating new social bonds? Show how the home, the clan, the neighborhood, are losing ground as socializing media. Show how interest groups act as buffers between antagonistic racial and occupational groups.
11. Relate under-socialization and peasantism. Are we in danger of a peasantism in America?
12. Show how a lack of such socializing agencies as will afford a normal opportunity for impression and expression causes social unrest.

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CHAPTER III

SOCIALIZATION: ITS INTERPRETATION AND MEANING

NECESSITY OF A CLEAR DEFINITION OF THE TERM

"Socialization," like "culture," is one of those complex abstractions which possess a host of different meanings and which must be reduced to concrete formulation in order to make their various meanings sharp and clear. As we study the works of philosophers, psychologists, religionists, sociologists, and educators, it will gradually become evident that they have all described a certain process of psychic growth and personality development, which could legitimately be included within the scope of the term "socialization."

SOCIAL STARVATION

Physical starvation means a lack of nutrition necessary to maintain efficiently the vital organism, and to prevent a gradual wasting away of the physical tissues. Social starvation, likewise, means a deficit of the social contacts necessary to socialize and humanize the personality. Social starvation brings about such abnormal states as egoism, neighbor suspicion, cynicism, selfishness, criminality, and insanity, just as physical starvation may bring about tuberculosis, scurvy, and anemia.

BOTH FOOD RATION AND SOCIAL RATION MUST BE BALANCED

Physiological chemistry has demonstrated that nutrition has a qualitative aspect in that the various elements entering into a diet must be balanced according to race, sex, occupation, and climate. One must have a ration as well as a meal. Thus, hogs may suffer from under-nutrition while wallowing in corn. In many families children are "skinny," not because they lack enough food, but because they lack proteins and vitamines. Too much starch and not enough fat is often a dietary heresy, for a diet, like a chain, is "as strong as its weakest link."

Carrying out the analogy, social starvation becomes a pathological condition of the personality which, owing to wrong proportioning of social contacts, suffers from malnutrition.

In many instances individuals develop their associations along one line. Their sociological ration has too much "pie" and not enough "bread and potatoes"; or too much "sugar" and not enough "protein." Thousands of people with narrow, "two-by-four" personalities suffer from the lack of stimulating social contacts. They are wasting away, psychically, into a premature old age, because of a lack of socializing impressions and expressions. Giddings [1] shows how a population may be divided into those who feed their souls upon sensual things, and those who feed them upon cultural

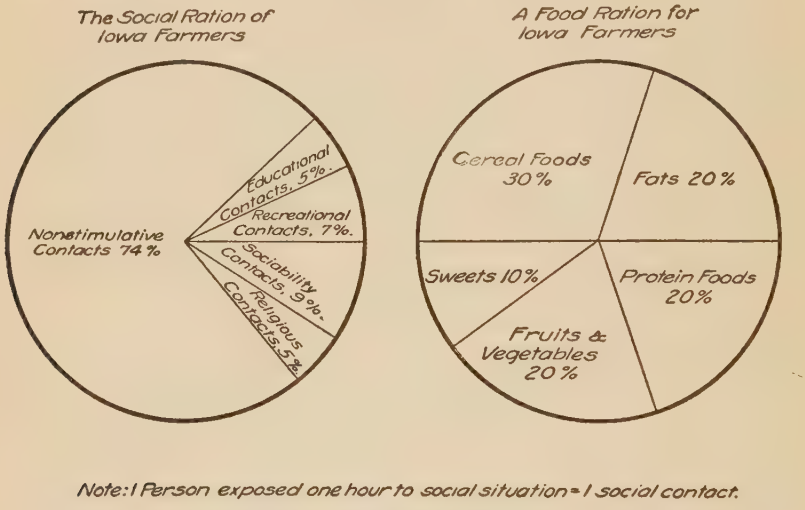
The Social Ration of Iowa Farmers
Nonstimulative Contacts 74%
Educational Contacts, 5%.
Recreational Contacts, 7%.
Sociability Contacts, 9%.
Religious Contacts, 5%.
A Food Ration for Iowa Farmers
Cereal Foods 30%
Fats 20%
Sweets 10%
Protein Foods 20%
Fruits & Vegetables 20%
Note: 1 Person exposed one hour to social situation = 1 social contact.

FIGURE 4
Social Nutrition
Food Rations and Social Rations

elements. Here are the sense-stimulation types whose associations smack of the race track, the card den, and the parlor lounges; there are the austere-dogmatic type whose associations are with ecclesiastical dignitaries, ritual lovers, and enforcers of the "blue laws."

Finally, we have those whose social experiences are largely limited to the scientific laboratory. Human nature, when it leans toward one type of social diet, is likely to become lop-sided, eccentric, and deformed. Ross [2] shows how the "linear" association with the ideals and traditions of ancestors, as well as "flat" association with a social clique, does not develop the "star" or balanced self. The existence of hobby-riders and "cranks"

[1] Giddings, Franklin H., *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 71-72. The Macmillan Co. 1914.
[2] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 411-412. The Century Co., 1920.

testifies to social starvation through lack of a balanced social diet. Not only must social contacts be numerous; they must be balanced. Each type of impression and expression feeds a certain self, and nourishes a certain section of the personality. Figure 4 illustrates this concept of social nutrition.

THERE MUST BE "VITAMINES" IN THE RATION

Nutrition chemistry has also shown the need of a sort of enzyme or energizer, known as a vitamine. This, seemingly, is more than a food; it makes other foods do their proper work. In short, it is a sort of super-food without which many bio-chemical processes are wanting or incomplete. Though small in quantity, the vitamine part of the food ration is indispensable, for its absence means many abnormalities and nutrition diseases. Now, in the social realm, we find certain types of impressions and expressions which act as psychic vitamines, that is, energizers for the whole association process. Certain lives lack, we say, enthusiasm, vision, motivation, and idealism. They may be rich in learning, culture, and travel, yet inert. Without a few social contacts of the "vitamine" order, one's life, although rich in contacts, may be flat and insipid. Many religionists regard a rousing religious service as a sort of spiritual vitamine that may fire and redirect the entire life. The educator points to the need of inspirational courses, that give the student attitude and vision. People speak of certain "red letter days" in their life, meaning, thereby, experiences that have not only lifted them to new social levels, but have pushed out their mental horizon. Certain sermons, books, friends, inspirational lectures, classroom sessions, and songs act as vitamines to give the person a basis for assembling his experience around new viewpoints.

THERE MUST BE ABILITY TO ASSIMILATE

Without appetite and digestion the best of food rations fail to nourish. The most tempting and nutritious food fails to fatten the dyspeptic. In the social application we note certain individuals who are socially starved in a community full of socializing events and group activities. People who live on graveled roads may possess high powered cars, which put them within twenty minutes of enough social contacts to feed their famishing personality. Yet they may suffer from the worst form of social malnutrition. In a land of towering cornstalks, fertile soil, and sleek cattle, we find sordid cares and commercial anxieties blinding men to the fact

that human kind cannot live "by bread alone," and to the truth that things material turn to the dust of disillusionment in the lengthening shadows of old age. In many ways the ability to enjoy the things which build personality is a habit, just as the ability to see the bright side of life is a habit. To this extent appreciation courses in nature, music, and art will add materially to the ability to enjoy a full social ration.

SOCIAL ISOLATION AND ITS PRODUCTS. THE PENALTY OF UNDER-SOCIALIZATION

Social starvation is quite closely associated with isolation. By studying the human traits which develop under isolation, we arrive at the elements which socialization adds to the human personality.

A static society with fixity of standards and immobility of ideas. The isolated society exhibits such provincialisms as dialects, brogues, peculiarities of dress, eccentric wedding or burial ceremonies, and unique mannerisms. Communities which shut themselves away from the stream of human culture move in deepening ruts. From the isolated, stereotyped community, the inventive, eager to try out new schemes of improvement, migrate, leaving everything to be settled by the old and conservative.

Why do some communities cling to box-car schools, obsolete church programs, primitive barn dances, and old fashioned wash boards? Is it the glorification of the traditional and time worn and the distrust of the new, which inoculates a community with the sleeping sickness of ultra-conservatism, and the dry rot of dogmatism? China, isolated with its massive walls and narrow ox-trails, preserved an ancient system of education, religion, and agriculture for thousands of years. Likewise, isolated rural communities project the rude pioneer civilization into the modern age.

Prolonged isolation often results in insanity. Many sociologists and criminologists call attention to the mental effects of solitary confinement. Criminals seek companionship with rats, plants, and insects when deprived of human companionship. In such prisons as that of the Pennsylvania reformatory, where solitary confinement was practiced, a high rate of insanity resulted. Prisoners deprived of a normal, human association develop many strange psychoses, and tend towards mental instability. Ross [3] points out the effect of isolation upon prisoners. "In 1842, in England, Pentonville prison began to confine the prisoner in solitude for the first eighteen months of his sentence. For the next eight years the

[3] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 96-97. The Century Co., 1920.

insanity rate among Pentonville prisoners was ten times as great as in other English prisons."

Isolation often develops other forms of mental derangement. Most hermits fail to develop a normal mental attitude towards others. Although they would not be judged insane by a lunacy commission, they manifest strange psychoses. Most of them are so eccentric in their habits that few normal people can live with them. Day after day they "ride hobbies," spin "stock yarns," and brood over imaginary wrongs. Many of these creatures of solitude are chronic woman-haters or confirmed cynics. Deprived of the stabilizing influence of human companionships, the hermit develops a distorted vision of society.

In solitude we become one-track thinkers. Our interests and fancies push out along one line without the check and balance of the opinions of others. There being nothing to divert the course of introspective thinking, mere trivialities are magnified out of all proportion, while facts are grotesquely distorted.

Isolation develops egotism, bigotry, and selfishness. The child reared alone is often pompous and egotistic. He has an inflated notion of his own importance; he has never adjusted his ethics to the problem of sharing things with others. "I," "me," and "mine," occur incessantly in his conversation. Only playground experience can "iron out" his anti-social kinks and render him a co-operating member of society.

People who live apart from others often develop the form of idolatry known as self-worship; for hours they sit in rapt admiration of their image in the mirror, as they make eloquent gestures.

The farmer who isolates himself from his community is generally the one who sees only his own selfish, individual welfare. It is his belligerent individualism that has destroyed so many brilliantly-conceived, co-operative enterprises. He votes against the most economical of school improvements because his children are grown up; he serves an injunction against a much-needed public thoroughfare because it cuts across one corner of his farm; he refuses to join the co-operative elevator association because he can secure the benefit of its hard-won grain prices without paying the membership fee.

Through the isolation of communities there develops a species of selfishness known as localism. One county, wanting in vision, puts a thirty-mile stretch of dirt road between two thirty-mile stretches of hard road. Rich communities oppose state aid for consolidated schools because their taxes might help to educate children in poorer communities, while

towns, counties, and townships play "pork-barrel" tactics in our civil bodies.

SOCIALIZATION AS THE IMPRESSION OF THE CONSCIOUS STREAM

Unless devoid of sensibility, the mind is continually being changed, enlarged, and socialized by its exposure to a continual procession of objects,

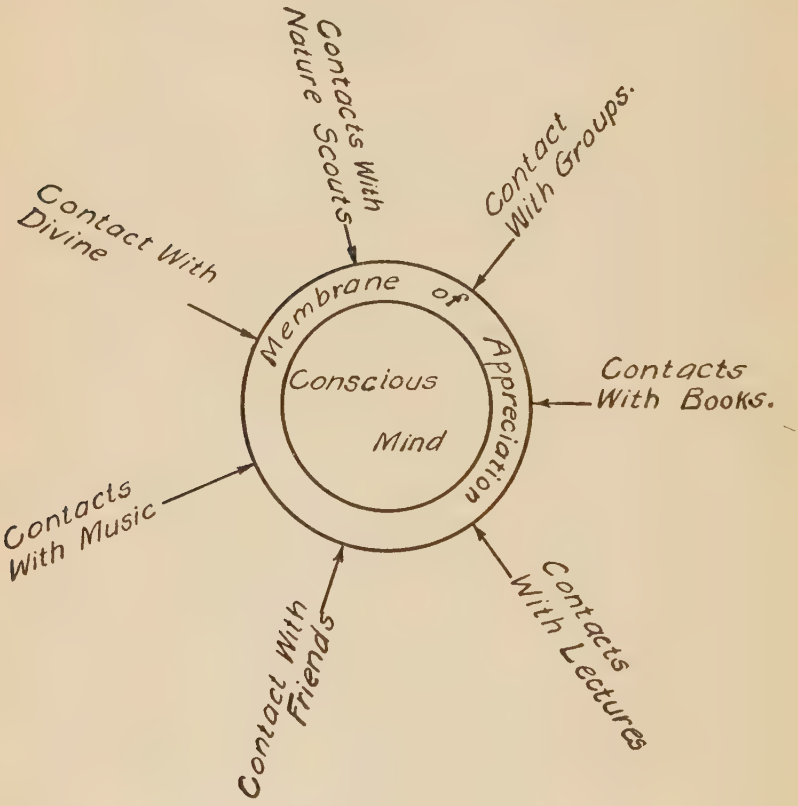

FIGURE 5
The Growth of the Human Self Through Social Contacts

ideas, and social situations. The ear is as a recording phonograph which is engraving sound records upon the brain tissue. There is a marvelous motion picture camera with a never ending reel of sensitive film passing behind the retina of the eye. Again, human consciousness may be likened to a highly concentrated solution (enclosed by the membrane of sensi-

tivity) which floats in an ocean of sensations which press inward. As the amœba ingests food particles that are floating in the water about it by physical osmosis, just so does the conscious and sub-conscious self by psychical osmosis absorb experiences, scenes, personalities, ideas, and stimuli. This process is visualized in Figure 5.

Certain types of experience require deeper adjustments within our consciousness and hence stimulate a rapid personalization process. If all of our experience is social in character, how shall we distinguish the socializing effect of association with people and human groups from mere contact with animals, rocks, or plants? In order, then, to avoid confusion and ambiguity in our terms, our series of mental exposures should be classified as to type, intensity, form of stimulus, and the adjustments which they demand.

Impressions and contacts with things in a material world. These represent, as compared to persons and social groups, monotony, regularity, and sameness, and to that extent they are easier to handle by the lower reflex nerve centers. One square of sidewalk is much the same as another square; one mile of road is much the same as another mile; and one tree is much the same as another tree. While the immersion of the self in the bosom of inanimate nature may be restful and recreative, it cannot be listed as a strong socializing contact. Except to the traveler, who rapidly changes his scenes, contacts with physical things have weak socializing power. A physical object is largely the same for our experience today as yesterday. The ten-year-old intelligence can adjust itself quite perfectly to navigation among physical objects.

Impressions and contacts with animals. In the phylogeny of the human race, plant worship follows rock worship, and animal worship follows plant worship. The higher animals are led by many of our elemental impulses such as fear, curiosity, sex, fighting, and hunger. To those who associate with animal pets, there is a sort of soul union on the basis of the unconscious recognition of a submerged brute self. Farmers, in the loneliness of their isolated lives, often talk and exchange confidences with their horses and dogs, which, they imagine, understand them. Animals sense human moods and often tend to reflect them. Many animal traits, such as the fidelity of the dog and the willing industry of the horse, teach the master valuable lessons in social ethics, which have their effect upon his character. Few natural scenes or inanimate objects can be so humanizing and socializing as animal companions.

Impressions from contacts with human beings as individuals. In the human individual, we meet our psychic level and enjoy communion

with a kindred spirit that reflects most of our conscious states. Human individuals not only have many variable factors which give us a complex situation to adjust ourselves to, but they are continually undergoing rapid psychic transformations, which introduce novelty. Furthermore, human association presents all the factors that intensify socialization: surprise, variability, emotionalism, and consciousness of kind. In every new friendship our psychical energies are drawn upon heavily. Through the eyes of the traveling friend, we gaze upon turreted castles and crystal streams. Each new friend we make is a biography, a set of travels, a battery of experiences, and a collection of facts. In the cultured friend we drink deeply at the fountain of human life, and experience an enormous multiplication of our percepts and concepts. If we multiply contacts with physical things by two to arrive at the value of association with animals, we should, perhaps, multiply animal companionship by four adequately to evaluate the socializing value of human contacts.

Impressions from human beings as social groups. A still more intense form of association is with groups in which there is almost no limit of variability. Within the group individualities yield new personalities. We have a complex of a complex, requiring rapid changes and intricate adjustments of our self. In face-to-face association we have the tug of one personality, while in group association we feel the pull of a dozen personalities. Thus the conscious stream rises to flood stage when it ingests the experiences emanating from group life. As we retreat from the society of the drawing-room and walk home with one companion, we almost instantly relax. Many persons feel nervous fatigue while visiting and attending programs. The experience of the individual, which seems to be of little private significance, takes on considerable value in the group discussions. As it is delivered to an audience, the inert document suddenly takes on personality and power. The playing of Kreisler has, perhaps, ten times the effect, when listened to in large groups. A single man in a large hall would secure comparatively little value from the oratorio or eulogy. For these various reasons, social groups intensify the impression.

SOCIALIZATION AS EXPRESSION TO DEVELOP LATENT PERSONALITY

The active dimension of the social process is expression, and in many ways, this type of conscious activity is more significant than the impressional type. To a large degree we can factor a man by the way in which he expresses himself musically, recreationally, dramatically, educationally,

and religiously. There cannot be much sociability without its expression by handshakes, conversations, and communal activities; there cannot be much Christianity without right living and social service. For a number of reasons the expressive side of life exerts a considerable influence upon the development of a personality.

1. Without a means of expression the instincts wither and atrophy. The altruistic motive is given a root in the nervous organism by nursing the sick, or assisting the unfortunate. Sociability is aided by the salutation, the smile of greeting, and the common meal of hospitality. The confirmed "solitaire" manifests little sympathy towards his fellow men.

2. Repression of the musical, dramatic, or sociable nature drives many to lives of vice and crime. Jails, juvenile courts, and reformatories are full of "pent-up" personalities that never had a normal chance to express their talents. More playgrounds and Boy Scout troops mean fewer probation officers.

3. Through expressive activities interest passes from the static to the dynamic form, while instincts evolve into habits.

4. One-line expression, whether it be music, drama, athletics, or study, always means an unbalanced personality. To offset this many artists and specialists develop an avocation. Today, thanks to the spread of avocational activities, we are getting fewer hobby-riders and "crack-brains."

5. Through expression, the creative interests of the individual are revealed. Through expression, new personalities and selves emerge into the light of day.

Betts [4] closely associates self-expression with development. *"No impression without corresponding expression* has become a maxim in both physiology and psychology. Inner life implies self-expression in external activities."

In a study of rural social contacts we are struck by the lack of stimulating, culturizing impressions; but on closer inspection we shall discover that the fundamental weakness is in the lack of vehicles and devices for expression. Society has been very inefficiently organized for expression, especially in the intellectual and cultural zones. While over half of the people will express themselves in song, or in visiting, only a scattering few will express themselves in debate or study. The following diagram illustrates the rôle of expression in evaluating socialization.

[4] Betts, George H., *The Mind and Its Education,* pp. 246-250. D. Appleton & Co., 1913.

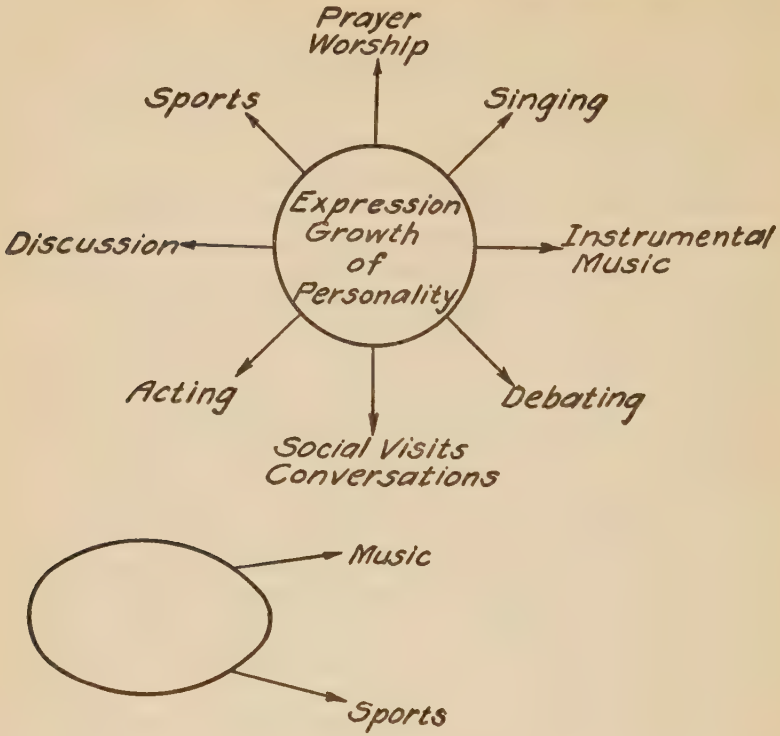

FIGURE 6

Normal Expansion of the Self Through Balanced Expression, and Its Irregular Expansion Through Unbalanced Expression

SOCIALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS BEING

Under the newer interpretation of Christianity, the ideal life is the fully socialized life. Man no longer exists for an ecclesiastical order or for a creed. No longer is human nature cruelly mutilated to make it conform to the needs of church government. More and more we define the Christian Life in terms of right relations with our fellow man. The man who develops clan or caste spirit under the guise of sectarianism and who under this influence shuns the socializing group contacts can scarcely be called a good Christian, although his orthodoxy may be above reproach.

The Christian Life as conceived of today is not an ascetic, cloistered life withdrawn from the world of man and problems; it is a life full of the experience which comes with the struggle to solve social problems and

to diversify human associations. It is life, not only progressing with its task of socialization, but expressing itself through a wide range of group contacts.

Hysteria, emotionalism, and abnormal psychoses are no longer the sure stigmata of the religious life. More and more are we measuring a man's Christianity by the way he adjusts himself to companion, family, and community. In short, we are using sociological methods rather than theological methods. A belief does not make a character, unless, in some way, it changes the impressional and expressional life.

The psychological interpretation of religious conversion indicates a process of metamorphosing the ego-self into the social self. Schemes of valuation, ends, motives, concepts of human relations, and notions of citizenship obligations find a new center of gravity. While the problems concerning one's own welfare recede into the background, interest in the problems which concern the future of community, nation, and humanity push into the foreground. In religious conversion we see the A personality, represented by A impressions, dominated by altruistic motives, and featured by cultural tastes, gain mastery over the B personality, which is characterized by the more primitive interests and culture. Self A cares for books, worth-while people, art, and study clubs. Self B cares for sensuous dancing, lewd companions, dime novels, and poker. Under the rule of self A, the individual exposes himself to socializing situations, while under the management of self B he seeks out anti-social situations. One of the fundamental aspects of religious experience is the struggle between two personalities for mastery of the self. At times it is quiet, but at other times it means a soul tempest.

After the first victory of the A personality comes its long slow grind of establishing appropriate interests, habits, and social contacts. Reared upon thousands of years of savagery, higher personality can no more endure without the sympathetic encouragement of kindred groups and inspiring lives than the domesticated plant could survive in the jungle. This higher soul-life requires the most nourishing of social contacts, impressions, and expressions to overcome the gravity of primitive barbarism. The first elation of conversion merely opens the long, hard fight against a mob of anti-social habits and instincts.

SOCIALIZATION IN TERMS OF ATTITUDES

Interests and attitudes indicate the degree of socialization and are closely correlated with the degree of social development. The anti-social

person exhibits attitudes symptomatic of social starvation. His apathy towards community welfare, his cynicism towards human kind, his egotistic, overbearing manner, his intolerance of the opinions of others, his clan philosophy of human relations, and his aversion to organized society mark him as under-socialized. Conversation with him reveals the wrong attitude towards his neighbors, his community, his family, and his society, and an unsocial position on such issues as child labor, vice, prohibition, poor relief, and education. In many rural districts we find decided hostility towards education, culture, and science.

These attitudes are rarely logical and are generally little more than prejudiced judgments. They express complexes that root down into early emotional experiences. The boy whose mother, breaking under the strain of factory labor, filled an early grave, shows an unreasoned bitterness towards the capitalistic system. The childless woman may become an ardent child-welfare worker. The irresponsible, free life of a hobo can easily produce an habitual opposition to government and law.

SOCIALIZATION AS THE EXPANSION OF THE SELF THROUGH ASSOCIATION

I am not one self, but a system of selves in which certain ones dominate. In this sense the self is different from the ego. The ego is the continual conscious and sub-conscious admonition that the experience of these various functional selves belongs to me and to nobody else. A self is a sort of complex of emotions, ideals, motives, sentiments, associates, and desires which seem to define the objective Me; for when "I" think of "Myself," I think of my interests, my ambitions, my home, my clubs, and other angles of my experience as I function in society. The Self, then, is objectively defined in terms of reaction and behavior. We may think of a Self of selves, which includes the minor or satellite selves. Upon close introspection we observe that "Myself" at one time is not always the same or consistent with what I call "Myself" at another time. We notice an apparent gap between them and, in cases of multiple personality, this gap may so widen as to destroy the sense of identity between these selves and thus temporarily to separate them.

SOCIALIZATION AS A PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

What we ordinarily call ourself is only one possible choice from several potential personalities which lurk in the submerged sub-consciousness. Without certain stimuli such as shocks or accidents, they may

never emerge sufficiently to seize control of the normal everyday self, but simply content themselves in influencing our motives, desires, day-dreams, and actions. The average person never fixes more than the one ego-personality because he never develops the secondary personality sufficiently either to dominate the primary personality or to interpose a memory gap.

These undeveloped selves floating in the deeper reaches of subconscious being, which are of so much scientific interest to the psychiatrist and psychologist, have a peculiar significance to the sociologist. Although the normal individual allows but one personality to sap the psychic energy,

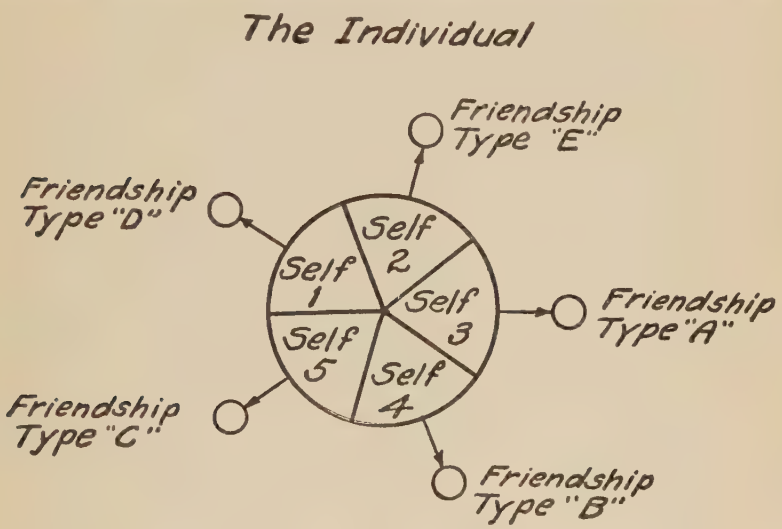

FIGURE 7

The Power of Friendship-Types to Fix Emerging Selves

and although most persons permit the "secondaries" to attain but a spindling and partial development, these submerged selves contribute to his socialization and personality growth. Each new friend acquaints us with a new potential personality and helps us fix that as ourself. Through hero-worship there is unconsciously created a hero-self, as is illustrated by the case of the boy in Hawthorne's story who gazed on the Great Stone Face and finally grew into its exact likeness. Socialization thus becomes a process of action and reaction. As each of these selves seeks out its congenial group of friends from a whole series of potential, psychic selves, there is a continual conflict of personalities. Each struggles for a foothold. When the cultural self has gained a mastery, the vulgar, low-

minded group is dropped. Adolescence seems to be the storm period of our psychic life, when many selves are contesting for the right to become "Our" self. During the period of rapid socialization, many potential personalities appear above the threshold of the consciousness and make tentative bids for their fixation into the actual self. During this period of adolescence, we have quickly acquired and easily changed friendships which are counterparts of the inner selves that are struggling for recognition. Figure 7 illustrates this self-fixation process.

THE SELF AS A SET OF EXPANDING RELATIONS AND FUNCTIONS

Through different functions and relations, the "I" develops a set of "Me's." James[5] aptly puts the concept in the phrase "A plurality of Me's." There is the material "me," which attaches to "my body," "my clothes," "my family," and "my home," and which seems to be tangibly and materially bound to my flesh and body, and without which I have difficulty in interpreting myself. When I interpret myself in terms of states of consciousness, thoughts, ideas, and other aspects of my psychic inner-soul existence, the spiritual "Me" appears. We have also the social "Me," which James defines as "the recognition a man gets from his mates." "Properly speaking, *a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him* and carry an image of him in their mind. . . . He generally shows a different side of himself to each of these different groups. Many a youth who is demure enough before his parents and teachers, swears and swaggers like a pirate among his 'tough' young friends. . . . It is his image in the eyes of his own 'set,' which exalts or condemns him as he conforms or not to certain requirements that may not be made of one in another walk of life. . . . A soldier's honor requires him to fight or to die under circumstances where another man can apologize or run away with no stain upon his social self."

It is quite evident that the man who expresses himself through a variety of groups will develop a larger number of "Me's," since he multiplies the standards by which he judges himself. Each new group attachment or contact may mean the addition of a new "Me." Socialization becomes a process of mingling with friends and groups to fix "Me's." The peculiar attraction of certain people to us lies in the fact that something in their personality reminds us of some potential self which we have neglected. Often this friendship brings the suppressed personality into activity. Finally, when we know a man's friends or a boy's chums, we

[5] James, William, *Psychology*, pp. 177-182. Henry Holt & Co., 1920.

know his personality, at that particular stage of growth. He may later feel the urge of a new personality which coerces him to drop the old friends. It is not the game of pool which injures the youth, but the men he meets at the game.

Ross [6] works out socialization from the angle of the self, expanding through different types of affiliations. "Socialization may be figured as an expansion of the individual self which takes in other persons and their interests. Now, there are various axes along which the self may expand. There is the *spheric* self which incorporates persons chiefly according to their propinquity. Those who are dearest are the *neighbors*. . . . Then there is the *linear* self, which keeps to the family line, ranging back among one's ancestors—particularly the illustrious—and forward among one's anticipated descendants. The *flat* self results from the confinement of social feeling to those within one's stratum. This self excludes those below one in the social scale because as beings of coarser clay they inspire only contempt. . . . The *vein* self expands along a vein of folk who are like us or have the same major interest. In big democratic cities fellowship tends to follow occupational lines, steam-fitter consorting with steam-fitters, newspaper man with newspaper men, the artist in Bohemia with other Bohemians. . . . Naturally the expanding self will be discriminating and selective when it has many to choose from. The developed personality, however, ought to have a number of strong tastes and interests, which bring it into sympathy with several veins of people. Hence the *star* self which radiates into various planes. The many-sided Roosevelt was linked up with Harvard men, boxers, big game hunters, bird observers, history writers, explorers, saga lovers, and civic reformers, in each case by one of his interests." In rural people we see a strong tendency to develop the linear and the spheric self, owing to their strong sense of familism and locality. In townsfolk we notice a tendency to develop the flat or vein self, owing to the stratification of city society and its division into specialized interests.

ELEMENTS IN THE EXPANSION OF THE SELF AND THE PROCESS OF ITS SOCIALIZATION

1. Race heredity. From infancy to adulthood, our character growth is marked by the emergence of different personality types, each accompanied by appropriate instincts. Thus the child of four is almost devoid of group or gregarious instincts, but is strongly actuated by selfish instincts.

[6] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 411-412. The Century Co., 1920.

The child of nine has group instincts, and manifests altruistic impulses. The boy of thirteen has a cave-man sociology and a tribal society. Certain races do not have enough cultural heredity back of them to organize a civilization, while certain individuals in all races are incapable of attaining the social level of the race.

The tragic feature of the problem is that thousands of individuals who have the racial heritage to develop a socialized personality fail to do so because they suffer social starvation through the lack of the right kind of stimulating associations. Because of the arrest of the self-expansion process, our nation is full of adult folks with the sociological age of a thirteen-year-old boy.

2. The struggle of emerging personalities. The butterfly does not free itself from the pupa without a struggle; neither does a higher personality emerge without strife. Our mental arena is continually put into turmoil with the conflict of battling personalities. This struggle is marked by several well-known phenomena:

a. Religious conversion.
b. Cases of multiple personality.
c. Inconsistency of people in their actions from year to year.

As the seventeen-year-old self emerges, the thirteen-year-old self, which is still existing, challenges the right of the more spiritual self to the dictatorship of the person. Its habits, its traits, and its appetites still lurk in the sub-conscious.

After a time, however, a set of new habits, associates, and groups are built around the new self, and the adjustment to former stages of self-hood is made.

3. Stimulation and fixation of personality. After a central self is made ruler, parts of other personalities are attached to it by a process of stimulation and fixation. Each personality has its appropriate stimulus for its emergence, and its particular associations which fix it in the form of habits. In the religious service, with its offertory, its prayer, its sacrament and its anthem, the religious self emanates. Under the influence of the home with its meals, its lounges, its comforts, its children, and its conjugality, the domestic self issues forth. Under the power of the race track or of the golf course, the play-and-sport self appears. Behind the teller's window or the bargain counter, the business self makes its début.

People who have only one type of stimulus never develop the "star" self which is really a self with several functioning personalities, considered more or less a part of the central "I." Under social starvation we may

never witness the emergence of the club, the musical, the social, or the cultural self. Soon they die through lack of stimulus.

Persons may experience a powerful stimulus from their latent desire for religious or educational work, but fail to secure association with groups or companions which will back up the initial impulse. Stirred by an inspiring lecture on insects, a youth's scientific personality gives signs of life. However, his "Main-Street" friends may so dampen his ardor that he never attempts to collect insect specimens, and so allows his scientific personality to atrophy. If he could have joined a local group of insect hunters, consecrated to entomological study, his scientific personality would have been fixed. While every rural community has plenty of groups to foster the business personality—and this always emerges—few communities are organized to foster and fix the religious, scientific, sport, literary, and social personalities. Thanks to the automobile, we can now organize the enthusiasts in several communities along a special-interest line, and thus check the decadence of budding personalities.

Personality stimuli and fixation agencies are of several general types.

Books. For many, eye-minded people, books have a profound influence upon the emergence and fixation of certain personalities. Many noted clergymen, authors, and scientists received their first inspiration from a certain book, and so found their larger self. Through a book the life and soul of an author can register a prolonged and detailed effect upon the reader. The heroes and personalities in fiction seem real to the youth and work powerfully upon his suggestibility.

Friends and associates. Certain people tend to bring out a particular personality type by making one feel that they expect its manifestation in their presence.

Ideals in abstract and humanized form. Children may be taught formally such qualities as are considered vital to full-fledged personality. Honesty, sincerity, nobility of purpose, sympathy, etc., are taught in religious schools, public schools, and well-organized homes.

Imitation and custom. Within primitive tribes, character formation depended upon the adherence to custom and ritual, which governed every action in the minutest detail. In many sects character formation means the formal instruction of the individual in the customs, rituals, and traditional codes of the group. Here, personality growth is a matter of conformity rather than of adaptation. Even in these modern times when improved communication and public education promote a rapid diffusion of contemporary ideals, tradition exerts a tremendous influence upon personality.

SOCIALIZATION AS A SOCIAL-CONTACT INCOME

The process of socialization may be viewed as the income which the mind receives from its contact with scenes, people, things, and groups.

Each individual exposes himself for a certain number of hours to books, lectures, sermons, people, occasions, groups, and scenes—exposures which may be counted as so many social contacts. While certain of these exposures exert a very powerful stimulus upon the personality and broaden the stream of consciousness, other exposures are so negative in effect that nothing "gets across." Still others have a depressing and enervating effect. We may classify the social contacts so described as A, B, and C contacts, respectively.

Communities, then, which receive their income chiefly in B and C mental exposures, fall into the class of the Under-Socialized. Communities which have a heavy proportion of their annual social-contact stream in the A form, would be classified as Well-Socialized. Organizations could be rated as socializers according to their ability to yield to their members an appreciable income of A type mental exposures. The lack of more accurate means of measuring the mental stimulus arising from a mental exposure precludes anything but a rough classification of social contacts into types; but even an estimation of these rough types in numbers and ratios serves to mark off the Under-Socialized from the Well-Socialized. What particular types of mental exposures or social contacts are vital to the personal development of any given individual is difficult to determine in advance. Society, communities, churches, clubs, and schools continually experiment with different programs which furnish the various types of social contacts in different proportions.

For the purposes of scientific measurement, this concept seems likely to prove more adaptable than the more theoretical ones, because socialization is reduced to more or less definite time units of one hour duration, termed social contacts or mental exposures. Since this mental exposure to culturizing situations is a common characteristic of every organized social institution that exists for socialization, we have a unit, a sort of "sociological dollar," by which to value communities, organizations, and individuals. The contacts vary greatly in number, a fact which renders it comparatively easy to assign individuals and communities to quite clear-cut socialization levels. The man whose contacts are few and of an unstimulating character is nearly always under-socialized, even anti-social. Thus, socialization can be conceived as a psychic stream composed of

one-hour sociological events flowing into the experience of an individual or community.

The following diagrammatic illustration[7] serves to interpret this concept.

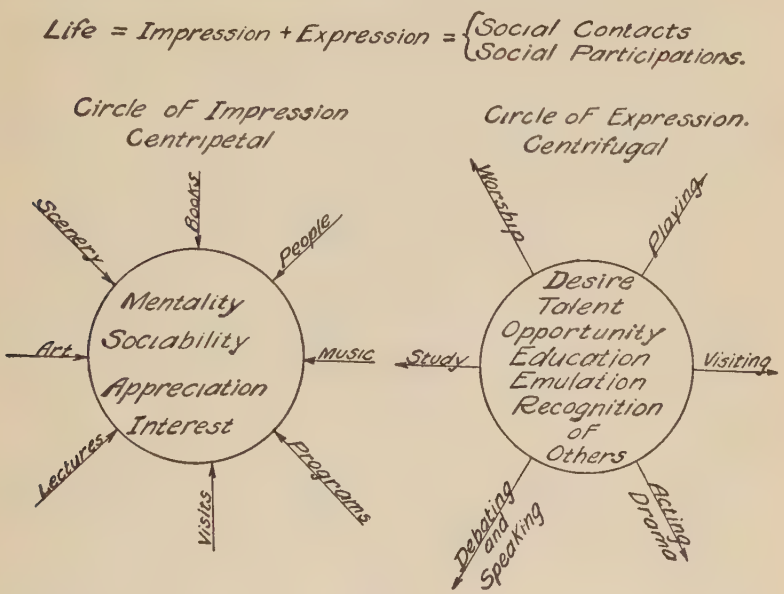

FIGURE 8

Life as a Socialization Process Factored by Impression and Expression

The annual one-hour social contacts produced in a community indicate several things.

1. The relative amount of time invested in different types of socializing activities.
2. The stage of community organization.
3. The socialization level of the population.
4. The customs, preferences, interests, and appetites of component groups.
5. The social efficiency or "sociological horse-power" of its socializing agencies.
6. The extent of the development of community spirit.
7. The waste of time in activities which have a negative social value.

[7] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities,* Chap. V. (Unpublished Thesis on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

The annual mental exposures of the individual reveal several more or less vital things about his personality.

1. The various types of socializing events and media, such as books, sermons, plays, music, and socials, to which he associates himself, and from which he derives psychic income.

2. His power to appreciate and interpret the culture with which he is surrounded.

3. His interests, desires, and motives. His will to utilize his social heritage in enriching his life.

4. His adjustment to the group life in his social community.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Is there such a thing as social starvation? Explain. Why is this usually associated with country people? What do we mean by a balanced food ration? A balanced social ration? To what extent is the analogy sound? Far fetched? Is there such a thing as a "vitamine" in our social-contact ration? Explain.
2. What psychological factors control the capacity of an individual to assimilate? Relate a dynamic set of interests to the power to appreciate. What effect does "narrow-mindedness" have upon the ability to absorb socializing contacts from the environment?
3. Discuss the various effects of isolation. Can a person be in close contact with other people and yet be isolated? Explain. List the effects, which you have observed, of isolation upon individuals and groups. Give some of the physical and psychical causes of isolation. Relate isolation to the "old-fogy," the "hermit," the "day-dreamer," the "bigot," and the "primitive man." Can you give examples of these personality types?
4. How do social contacts bring about the emergence of our different "I's"?
5. Discuss socialization as impression and expression. Classify the different types of impressional contacts on the basis of their intensity and form of stimulus. Passing from childhood to adulthood, from primitive man to civilized man, do we find an evolution in the type of contact sought after? Show how socialization, if properly conducted, develops latent personality. Why must the Creator have a personality if He is to exert a socializing power? Can we always find the proper human associate to develop a latent self?

6. To what extent is socialization a process of forming friends and acquaintances? Why do some stress this side or aspect of man's sociological adjustment too much?
7. Relate socialization to the theory of the multiple self.

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CHAPTER IV

MEASUREMENT OF SOCIALIZATION

CAN SOCIOLOGY BE A SCIENCE?

Can Comte's dream of a scientific sociology that shall discover, organize, and control the forces that mold civilization come true? As yet the scientists of other fields are loath to admit this thing termed "sociology" to the fraternity of sciences. Even sociologists are disappointed. Hart states,[1] "These expectations have not been fulfilled. Ward, in connection with his review of the work of Comte and Spencer, announces the sterility of all sociology which preceded his own. . . . Small says that the interpretations of social scientists have been 'pitifully superficial, fragmentary and incoherent,' and he elsewhere speaks of the thinness and inconclusiveness of nearly everything which has hitherto passed as social 'science.' "

If sociology, then, is to become the last, and, in the human sense, the greatest of all sciences in the hierarchy which starts with astronomy and continues through physics, chemistry, and biology, what procedure must it follow?

Hart notes several possible methods for developing scientific sociology. First, the "common-sense," or inductive method, by which generalizations are made from more or less scattered observations; second, the historical method, by which the documents and data of past ages are analytically examined to derive trends, laws, and continuities; third, the "museum or census method," by which specific items are classified and enumerated; fourth, the "laboratory or experimental method," by which factors are tested under controlled conditions: and, fifth, the "statistical method," by which significant data are measured and correlated. Hart calls attention to the limitations of these methods, from the standpoint of building scientific sociology. In the "common sense" method, the individual is likely to be unconsciously guided by a bias in his selection of data and limited by his memory in his interpretation of results. The historical student finds incomplete data, unscientifically collected, and colored by the class prejudices of the recorder. The "laboratory" method is difficult to

[1] Hart, H., "Science and Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVII, p. 365.

use because social experiments require long periods of time, and because human beings will not readily submit to the infractions upon their personal liberty necessary to carry on a given experiment. Finally, the "statistical" method, which has great possibilities, is as yet not well understood by many observers.

However, in spite of technical difficulties, there is nothing inherent in social phenomena that renders measurement and quantitative investigations impossible and impractical, or that precludes scientific deductions from laboratory data. It may be many years before we can develop experimental communities and sociological clinics; yet the bulk of our social theories are being tried out in a fragmentary way in our various social institutions and groups. A Shaker colony tries out many communistic principles. The community of "Calumet Center" experiments with a community church or a scheme of inter-organizational co-operation. If we can devise accurate statistical methods of operating with a complex of factors, or of reducing our subjects to a comparable basis and of measuring results, we can draw valuable information from these sporadic and uncontrolled experiments. Hart [2] states:

"The backwardness of social sciences has not been due to any insoluble complexity of data—ponderous opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. Our failure to achieve results has been caused by the lack of an objective means of measuring certain important variables, and the failure to apply and develop scientific methods of generalizing from social data. When these handicaps are overcome social science may be expected to produce improvements in human life far more revolutionary than those resulting from the application of experimental methods to physics, chemistry, and medicine."

For a long time sociology has been content to develop itself on a philosophical, ethical, and historical basis. For many decades it has borrowed, adapted, and given a sociological interpretation to scientific data from such sciences as biology, geography, and anthropology; now it will enter a new era of scientific development. It will never divorce itself from philosophy and history, because its phenomena are in many places too human and personal to be summed up in tables, curves, and formulas. Interpretative and constructive philosophies, keen, challenging inductions from personal observations, will always play an important rôle in stimulating the research that will build a scientific sociology; but this philosophical and historical method will be guided by statistical analysis.

Sociology has, then, the distinctive phenomena, the regularities within

[2] Hart, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 382-383.

these phenomena, and the general methods by which it can win a scientific reputation, but it seemingly lacks a system of quantitative measurements. With such measurements our historians could bequeath records of great scientific value to the future devotees of the historical method. With these devices for measuring the results of social experiments, planned or accidental, we shall open up a sociological laboratory as vast as society itself. Every science—chemistry, physics, biology, psychology—made slow progress until it perfected devices for measuring its processes. Without the balance and calorimeter, chemistry is little more than alchemy. Without the telescope and spectroscope, astronomy is little more than astrology; without its mental tests and laboratory experiments, psychology is little more than a philosophy of the mind. With the development of measures for its phenomena, sociology will gain the prestige that belongs to the older members of the family of sciences.

ARE SOCIAL PHENOMENA CAPABLE OF MEASUREMENT?

To treat this question adequately, we must develop a broad and comprehensive concept of measurement, not necessarily measurement as we know it in the field of physics or astronomy, but measurement as we generally know it. Each science develops the particular type of measurement that is adapted to its variety of phenomena, and that is capable of analyzing its data in such a way as to solve its problems. For one science to set up its type of measurement as a criterion for all sciences would be both illogical and unjust. To the physicist who works with fine balances which weigh infinitesimal particles of matter, the accuracy attained in social measurements seems inadequate and crude. But it should be remembered that accuracy is a relative thing, depending upon the type of data investigated and the nature of the posited problem. In range finding for a rifle by the triangulation method, a slight error in reading angles means a great over-estimation or under-estimation of the distance of the target from the marksman. On the other hand an error of ten percent may not change the conclusion that community A has a higher percentage of first-class social events than community B. For the astronomer who is measuring the speed of an approaching planet by the shifting of lines in its spectrum there must be attained a degree of accuracy which would be unnecessary and impractical for the farmer who is determining the acres in his plowed strip. In a considerable measure the errors made in measuring complex social phenomena are of the compensating rather than of the cumulative kind. The investigator of social problems can generally attain a sufficient degree of accuracy to make his findings reliable and valuable.

Research workers who manipulate and compute the magnitude and motion of material, tangible objects are apt to be skeptical when it comes to measuring intangible and incorporeal things. The pull of gravity on a cannon ball, as it hurtles through space, is an objective thing which can be handled with exact mathematical formulas. But what about the influence of one mind over another? Who can measure that? In answer to this it should be noted that many invisible and intangible forces register visible effects in the objective world. Magnetism is incorporeal, yet it can be measured in the objective world by its pull upon a needle. In the same way there is some objective aspect to social forces which can be more or less accurately measured. Generally the amount of change in the objective world is proportional to the amount of change in the subjective world, so that our ratios determined in the visible field will be the same as those existing in the invisible.

It is evident, then, that generalizations about measurement, based on the technique of one type of science, are often inapplicable to another science. There are certain practical and immediate purposes in measurement that may give us some clue as to what it is, and as to whether such sciences as sociology can meet such requirements. Measurement is quantitative description, generally so standardized that various observers can accurately compare their investigations.

When we describe rock as "heavy" or "big," we are using qualitative terms that are too indefinite for scientific comparisons. Such vague and general language is all right for poetical or literary purposes, but not for science. What one man calls "big" another might term "small" depending upon their standard of comparison. When we describe the rock as weighing so many tons and occupying so many cubic feet, we are translating the general terms into units which are universally standardized. Similarly, when we say that community A has more social life than community B, we are not using scientific language. If, however, we say that community A has exposed its 1000 individuals 100 times, on the average, to socializing events, and that community B has brought its 2000 persons into contact 20 times, on the average, with character-building programs, then we are more or less analyzing the social life of the community in quantitative and scientific terms.

Thus, measurement and quantitative comparison involve the invention of a unit which will reduce the subjects of investigation to common terms. Without some standard "measuring stick," we are unable to give a statement in terms which are adaptable to statistical formulation. A series of irregular vessels are measured, as to their capacity, by pouring their con-

tents into quart measures; a group of batteries are tested, as to their electrical discharge, by putting their current through ammeters. The social life of two communities or organizations may be compared by reducing the social process to some common unit such as social contacts.

Now, a unit may be simple or quite complex in its definition, depending upon the subject which is to be measured. The yard is simply the distance between two points upon a certain bar at a certain temperature. All distances can be stated as fractions or multiples of this standard. On the other hand, the social contact may involve a person-time-social situation which is standardized with greater difficulty.

In many cases social measurements are carried out with a quite complex unit or measure called a "norm" or "standard." When we deal with human souls and their society, we are not interested in their weight in pounds or their ability to exert so much physical force in poundals; we are rather interested in their mental and social performance. Reaction to environment, adjustment to group life, response to culturizing activities, are the significant data in the study of spiritual man. In order to compare groups or individuals in these respects, it is expedient to use statistical norms. For example, the speeds with which 10,000 school children ten years of age put together 200 broken sentences will tend to form a bell-shaped, normal, frequency curve. The largest number, let us say 1000, will put the sentences together in ten minutes with twenty errors. This gives us, then, our psychological yardstick against which we can stand any particular boy or girl. If a child is twelve years of age and equals this performance, he is said to be sub-normal in this type of mental ability. If this performance is a good indicator of intelligence, we can say that he is mentally defective. We are here using typical or normal performance as standard performance. If, however, we had taken 3000 very capable boys and girls instead of a random sample of 10,000 and tested them with respect to sentence organization, we would have set up, not a normal performance, but a standard. So this child who was two years below normal might be four years below standard. The same plan can be followed in devising sociological norms or standards, except that more care must be taken in selecting the performances which may act as indicators of social life. If we posit the theorem that the number and cultural power of socializing events, with the number of persons exposed to them, are fairly good criteria of the social life of a community, then we can proceed to measure a large number of random communities or a smaller number of select communities to establish a norm or a standard as the case may be. If we believe that the books which an individual

reads, the music which he listens to, and the other culturizing activities which he indulges in are good indicators of his socialization, then we can proceed to test performances in these respects and derive norms and standards. We are not using scales or ammeters; we are not moving a hand upon a dial in a physical sense. Yet we are beginning to measure social phenomena in a quantitative way, so that we can make the comparisons and correlations necessary to establish laws and make predictions. The statistical norm or standard can practically do for the psychologist and sociologist what the calorimeter and balance can do for the physicist.

Sociology has a more difficult task than psychology in developing norms and standards. A few species of performances and behaviors will serve to detect the bright or the dull child. We can place him in the laboratory, and, in an hour, put him through mental gymnastics that more or less indicate his mental capacity. But, when we come to measure such a complex thing as socialization or social development, we immediately have to take cognizance of a large number of performances over a considerable period of time. We are quite sure we know an intelligent person when we see one or talk to him. We are not so sure that we can "spot" the highly socialized individual. Most agree that performance in society and adjustment to group life is of extreme importance. The intelligent boy may fail if he neglects his adjustment to society to the extent of becoming anti-social. Yet, we are not just sure as to what type of performance will serve as the best indicator for socialization. Only very insistent experimentation in social measurements will locate the best indicator of social development.

DEVELOPMENT OF A SCIENTIFIC RURAL SOCIOLOGY DEPENDS UPON THE STANDARDIZATION OF MEASURES OF RURAL SOCIALIZATION

Our means of describing rural communities have shown a wide range of variation. Few communities located in different parts of the country can be compared through the surveys taken of them, owing to the fact that different methods of evaluation and investigation have been pursued. Hence, broad inductions are made on the basis of each isolated survey, with little possibility of cross-checking them with data gathered from other communities. Generalization upon a few local soundings, coupled with the tendency to rear a pretentious superstructure upon a narrow foundation, has often hurt the scientific prestige of rural sociology.

How fast is the socialization process proceeding within a certain community, institution, or individual? What effect will such factors as

heredity, race, education, and occupation have upon the speed of this process? What are the most potent means of speeding up this process? Without some measure of the speed or the products, we have no way of determining the efficacy of the agencies and devices of socialization. Without the means of measuring the speed of a process, the organizer is at a loss as how to proportion his factors.

The sociologist and social engineer draft constitutions for clubs, churches, community councils, and interest groups. Every community more or less unconsciously experiments with different institutions and species of organizations. Are we getting social horsepower out of our institution or organization in proportion to the expense and energy invested in it? Is most of the energy consumed in running the social mechanism itself? How much socialization does it deliver for a given investment of talent, money, and time?

GENERAL INDICATORS AND INDIRECT MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION

In the past this phenomenon has been studied by more or less circumstantial and roundabout methods. A flank rather than a frontal attack has been made upon the problem, with the result that most of the data can form the basis for only general analyses.

THE GENERAL COMMUNITY SURVEY OF POPULATION AND INSTITUTION

Under this system widely separated communities are surveyed with reference to topography, industry, wealth, homes, institutions, and population. Such studies are very valuable as a background for more microscopic and direct studies of the sociology of community life. But, many of these quite spectacular aspects do not exert a powerful influence upon the psychic activity of the people. There are numerous limitations to this type of community analysis upon which we have relied so much in the past.

1. Within a limited region of study there are not enough variations in topography, industry, wealth, or population to differentiate communities. Our lens is not strong enough to reveal the actual differences.

2. A still, rather than a moving picture, is taken of the community. Like so many nouns or lifeless things, institutions, people, and agencies are enumerated. Like a cadaver, the community is taken apart and viewed as a static affair with so much material equipment. The actual flow of its life, seeking expression through its institutions, is not emphasized sufficiently.

Now, "community" is not a compilation of houses, streets, and noises; it is a "going concern" building human personalities. It is a place to "grow souls" in as well as corn.

3. It is often unsafe to deduce the quantity and quality of a community's life from the number of its institutions, or the "showiness" of its equipment. The community with big church buildings, large parks, and pretentious bank deposits may be visionless intellectually, and "dead" spiritually. We have no key as to the extent to which the socializing machinery is used or as to what extent the latent talent and ability of the people are finding a means of expression. It should be remembered that a box-car church, filled with enthusiasm and leadership, will create more vital human contacts than a magnificent structure of stone occupied by indifference and lethargy. It takes leaders, talent, and interested people to create a fund of social and cultural life.

4. Communities peopled by the same race or the same economic classes do not necessarily develop the same quantity or quality of community life. One Scandinavian community with good leaders, enthusiastic talent, and a co-ordinated group of institutions may completely outstrip the next Scandinavian community, which clings to an antiquated system of community organization. The sociological energy of a community and its output of socializing contacts depends upon a set of factors, which are scarcely touched by the general survey.

5. The life of the community is seen superficially, so to speak, with the "naked eye." The large number of socializing activities are not reduced to units that can be handled statistically. The life of the community through one agency or institution cannot be added to its life through other agencies. There is no way in which we can add the life which functions through the church to that which functions through the farm bureau. We are still using qualitative and general descriptive terms to a large extent, and this precludes the scientific comparison of communities on a sociological basis.

THE STANDARD OF LIFE AS A MEASURE OF SOCIALIZATION

The way in which a family spends its income has always been considered indicative of its desires, wants, and standards. Primitive races have limited and meager standards of life; as they rise in the scale of civilization, these standards rise. Any improvement in the culture should show in habits of consumption as evaluated by the relative weight assigned them in the budget.

The standard of life has many social relationships. It is a criterion in determining a just wage or income for farmer or laborer, since the standard of life has a direct effect upon the cost of living.

Immigration, tenancy, and small farms are rated largely by their effect upon the standard of life, while schools, churches, recreation, etc., are often appraised in terms of their influence on life's standards. The economic-sized farm is one which yields an income sufficient to support a decent standard of life. The standard of life also governs the size of family and increase of population.

The standard of life is a norm or measure of welfare which varies with the occupation, size of family, race, and age. This welfare measure is generally obtained by the use of the mode or average, secured from sample budgets taken from a population study, and modified into a minimum standard by adding certain items supposed to be necessary to the customary comfort and decency of the family. With this norm it is possible to shift a population according to its percentages which fall above or below a standard of life.

The first "standard of life" studies dealt with city families. Only recently have rural sociologists introduced this device into their field, as a method of measuring community progress, or comparing rural welfare with city welfare. At present, under the leadership of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, cost of living surveys are being conducted in several states.

The standard of life worked out as a consumption budget presents valuable evidence for many deductions.

1. It gives the actual or real income of the family in the enjoyment of utilities. This may be larger or smaller than the money income. In the case of the farmer, it greatly exceeds money income spent for living, since the farm, of itself, yields utilities of many kinds.

2. It discloses the enlightenment of the family as to certain needs, such as health, thrift, or balanced consumption, and to this extent measures levels of intelligence and training.

3. It reveals the relative value which a family assigns to various things, activities, and opportunities. Thus the family which invests hundreds of dollars in church work indicates its religious interests. On the other hand, the family which expends fifty dollars for textbooks or musical instruments is likely to value literary and musical things.

4. It informs as to whether a family or rural neighborhood has a sufficient level of physical welfare, below which socialization rapidly

dwindles. In this way we can detect the extremely backward as well as the exceptional communities.

The standard of life, associated with family study, exhibits several elements of strength. First it can be quite accurately measured and stated in terms of dollars, because each element in the budget can be assigned a market value—even though the farm seemingly contributes it free—and because a hundred different items, from education to tobacco, can be converted into the common solvent, "dollars."

Second, the items in the family budget marked incidentals, personal advancement, etc., while receiving a general statement by the usual standard-of-life analysis, are of great importance to the sociologist; for food, housing, fuel, and clothing expenditures, being largely controlled by physical environment and custom, give a comparatively small amount of play to volition and choice. It is the elastic items which reveal socialization, although in most cases they are not sufficiently classified to give an accurate key to cultural and social interests.

THE COMBINATION OF THE STANDARD OF LIFE WITH THE STANDARD OF CULTURE

Different workers in the field of living standards have striven to enlarge the physical standard of life until it indicated more clearly the social and cultural level of a people. The result of these efforts to get away from the subsistence idea of living differs from the older standard-of-life analysis in that:

1. Closer analysis is given to the expenditures for education, religion, and culture and to budgetary items which were previously lumped into the general indefinite term, "sundries."

2. It has given more emphasis to such items as books, magazines, musical instruments, home conveniences, etc., which indicate culture and refinement. As we pass from the pioneer to the commercial stage of agriculture, these elements tend to come into the foreground.

3. More attention is paid to the recreational, religious, and social activities of the various members of the family. More weight is given to their membership and performance in various rural organizations.

Kirkpatrick [3] has worked out an interesting scheme of giving due

[3] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *The Standard of Life in a Section of Diversified Farming*, Cornell University Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 423, pp. 49-53.

emphasis to these human values by means of a standard-of-life score card. It is made up on the basis of 1000 points, as follows:

I.	Expenditures for necessities, comforts, and luxuries	200
II.	Education of children	300
III.	Social values manifested through disposition to improve environment, use of time, and participation in community activities.	
A.	Home surroundings and home	235
B.	Use of time	80
C.	Participation in community activities	125
D.	General outlook	60

Part III of this score card gives a quite reliable indication of the socialization level of a family unit. For the case-study of the living standards of farm families such a type of analysis fits excellently. It does not purport to measure the socialization process in a community as an organic whole, but the data which it collects, family by family, are valuable evidence as to the social efficiency of a country community. This type of score card could, quite easily, be applied to the scoring of communities by crediting points to schools, churches, clubs, playgrounds, programs, and community activities. In a large measure the data collected by this score card give a basis for calculating social contacts in rural communities. With this refinement of the standard of living, we are making a close approach to the direct, sociological analysis of the rural community.

THE EXPRESSIONAL-IMPRESSIONAL OR SOCIAL-CONTACT METHOD OF MEASURING SOCIALIZATION

This system of sociological analysis endeavors to resolve the social, cultural, and moral life of an individual or group into such concrete units as can be counted with a fair degree of accuracy. In the next place, this method seeks to isolate a set of specific, sociological performances which are good indicators of the cultural plane of an individual's or a community's life, and work them into norms and standards. Since no system of social analysis is without its viewpoint of life, this type of measurement posits a certain philosophy. From the standpoint of the individual, it is held that his life expands by impressions from various sources and expressions through different activities. During the year the various social agencies such as libraries, lodges, churches, clubs, motion pictures, crowds, furnish him with a set of situations or events, to which

he exposes his mind for a certain length of time. Through these contacts with music, art, drama, lectures, and persons, he is made heir to the heritage of past culture and to that extent socialized. At the same time he participates in the life of the community socially, dramatically, intellectually, artistically, religiously, and musically. His life may then be summed up by counting his exposures to different types of events and his participations in different forms of activities. For lack of a better word these exposures and participations are termed *social contacts.* The lack of the more stimulating, culturizing, or humanizing contacts will indicate under-socialization or what might be more popularly called social starvation. The number and proportion of each type of contact factors the social ration of the individual and determines his sociological nutrition. From the standpoint of the community or the institution, it is maintained that we have a set of socializing mechanisms, which organize the dramatic, musical, or intellectual life of the community, which bring so many thousand people into contact with socializing events, and which present an opportunity for them to participate in various character-building activities. Each organization is a nucleus around which talent, programs, and people gather. The number and type of social contacts developed through each organization determines its power as a socializing agency and its efficiency in contributing to the social life of the community. In a general way the philosophy holds that what people know as the social, educational, and spiritual life of an individual, institution, or community, will reduce to a certain number of one-hour social contacts of seven or eight types, and thus make it possible to measure the life of a person or community in a more or less quantitative way.

TESTING THE SOCIOLOGICAL "HORSEPOWER" OF THE COMMUNITY

The rural sociologist will, so to speak, place a series of communities with different types of social organization on the "block" and see how much socialization power they can develop within a certain period of time. He will look upon the community and its institutions as a sort of factory which is turning out social contacts of different types. Figure 9 visualizes the way in which he will analyze the community into agencies, activities, events, participations, and exposures.

In actual field practice, the social contact was defined as the exposure or contact of a person, for approximately one hour, to an event or situation which had definite socializing value. It was assumed that within a given area, such as Western Iowa, individual communities would differ little

as to natural intelligence and ability to react to culturizing environment, and that, within any given community, about as many people would fall below a normal impressibility as would rise above it; so that for practical purposes the perplexing factor of human sensitivity to impressions and

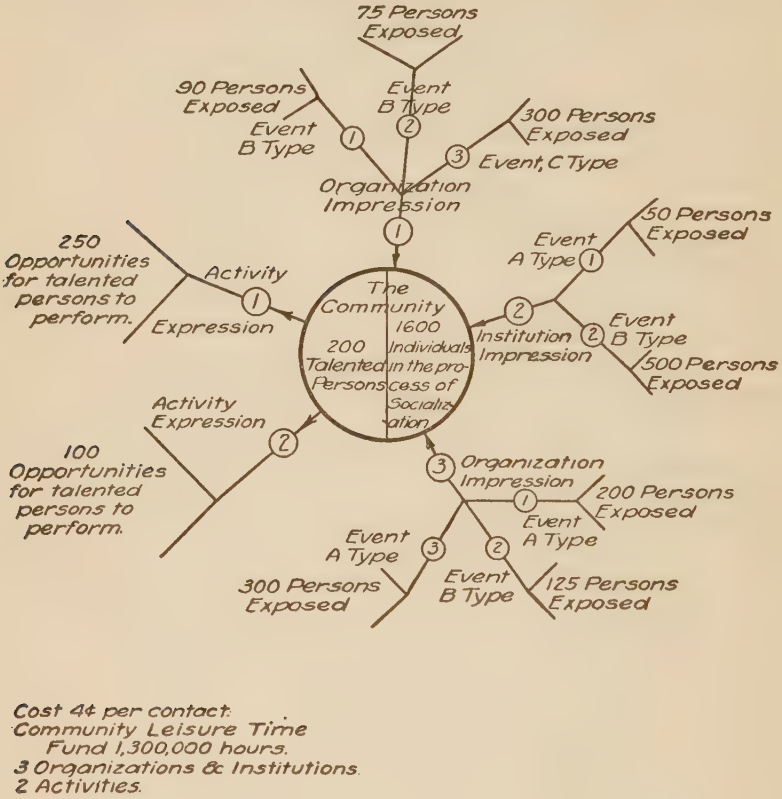


FIGURE 9

Hypothetical Diagram of the Sociological Concept of the Community as a Socializing Mechanism

response to expressional activities could be neglected. The social contact product of a community was calculated in the following way:

1. After some acquaintance with the community and with the aid of old newspaper files, the surveyor made a list of the various institutions and organizations which staged events, programs, and activities of socializing value.

2. The officials and records of each organization were consulted to

tabulate the various events and programs with the number of people in attendance. In most of the cases, officers tend to over-estimate attendance, as much as ten to twenty percent; but since everyone does it, the comparative results are not seriously vitiated. To make this correction, the surveyor must make accurate counts on meetings chosen at random to check against the estimates. In the case of events with an admission charge, the attendance calculation is not so difficult. With these data we substitute into the equation $N \times T = S.C.$ N represents the number of persons in attendance, T the approximate length of the exposure and S.C. the number of social contacts produced from that particular event. By adding together the social contacts from various events during a year, the total for the community is determined. S.C. 1 + S.C. 2 + S.C. 3 + S.C. 4 + ... = Total S.C. for community.

By totaling the social contacts through the events of any particular organization or social agency, we can ascertain its contribution to the community fund of social contacts By dividing the total budget of the various social agencies by the total number of social contacts produced during a year, we can secure a rough calculation as to the money cost of a hundred social contacts.

3. The annual social contacts of a given community were classified —several methods of classification being experimented with.

a. The *Institutional* scheme of classification. Following this plan we would divide our contacts into those coming through the Lodge, the Church, the Motion Picture, the Chautauqua, the Festival, the Club, the School, the Home, etc. This is valuable in giving us a picture of the relative social efficiency of different organizations and institutions; but it confuses, due to the fact that each of these organizations may schedule the same type of activity or event, such as drama, music, and socials.

b. The *Psychological* scheme of classification. Using this method we would sort social contacts according to the interest or desire appealed to. Thus, we would have intellectual contacts derived from an educational lecture, emotional or dramatic contacts produced by a play or musical program, sociability contacts developed by a banquet or mixer, religious contacts brought forth from a service of devotion or worship, and so on. Such a classification gives us some notion as to the balance and quality of the community's mental, emotional, artistic, and cultural life.

c. The *Volitional* scheme of classification. This device for marking social contacts would put the emphasis upon the amount of conscious, purposeful planning required to organize the event or program. Some contacts would be derived from events and programs involving a large

amount of leadership, engineering, and planning. Other contacts would emanate from formal and ritualistic programs needing little conscious direction or attention. Still other contacts would spring from such adventitious, unplanned gatherings as form in stores or on street corners.

d. The *Sociological* scheme of classification. Under this system social contacts are rated as A, B, or C, depending upon their relation to the social development of the community or the individual. Thus, all events that had a pronounced educational, devotional, and inspirational influence, or that had a positive effect upon the upbuilding of community life would be classified as A type events. Most observers would agree that chautauquas, institutes, study circles, sensible sermons, standard music, clean motion pictures, art exhibits, and quality home-talent plays would class as A, and that such contacts as would come from gossip clubs, inferior motion pictures, and other things of this character, would rank as B or C. Naturally, such a method is only a rough grouping, since certain events are difficult to class as A or B. Yet, it makes it possible to present a fair comparison of two communities as to the quality of their social and cultural life.

The use of this method of community analysis in Western Iowa communities indicated that there was a great variation between communities of about equal size, similar population, and like agriculture in their sociological "horsepower." Thus, according to rough calculations, Community 5 developed something like 62,000 social contacts annually of the A type, while Community 4 developed about 23,000 of the same type.

MEASURING THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The individual, like the institution or the community, may be the means or instrumentality by which social contacts are produced. When he sings, lectures, visits, or acts, he creates the event by which other lives are socialized. But, unlike the institution, he is an end, for individually and collectively we are seeking to raise the social standard of living of human beings. Humanized and culturized man is the great goal toward which we are striving through a thousand social agencies. So no socialization study is complete unless we directly measure the social development and psychic income of the men who compose a community. A community may have a high efficiency as a socializing mechanism and yet include certain individuals who fail to come into contact with any of its events. On the other hand, many individuals in run-down communities may, through books, radios, magazines, automobiles, and the like, secure such

social contacts as will broaden, deepen, and vitalize their lives. When we test the sociological horsepower of the community, we are merely viewing the socialization problem from one side; namely, that of the community engineer who is interested in wasted energy, superfluous red-tape, overlapping programs, and efficient community organization schemes. In its last analysis, we are led to the personal human life with all its complexities.

The social-contact analysis. While the community may be measured according to the human exposure-events which it created and the people contacting with these events, the individual may be evaluated as one who is associating himself with various socializing events in the way of a recipient or a participator. Exactly the same method of counting, the same types of classification, can be used in the sociological testing of the individual, as are utilized in the social rating of the community. Only, the individual secures a social-contact income through other sources than the regularly organized social agencies; so that the total social contacts in one community, computed by adding together those of the different resident individuals, will be much higher than those recorded by counting social contacts produced through organizations and institutions.

The sociological test. By making a more detailed and extended analysis of the impressional and expressional life of the individual in his social environment, and by taking some account of his social or anti-social attitudes, we can develop what may be termed a sociological test. For rough calculations of the extent and nature of social life within the community, the social-contact analysis may be used, but for a more thorough investigation of the finer adjustments of rural persons to their social, educational, and religious opportunities a more exhaustive test is needed. To determine mentality the psychologist develops norms for a series of performances which are indicative of intelligence. In the same manner the sociologist may work out norms and standards for a group of performances which throw light upon the various adjustments which the individual makes to his socializing groups and agencies. In this way a scientific concept will be gradually built of the performance of both the socialized and the non-socialized individual.

What are the significant aspects in the behavior of the child or adult whose process of socialization is progressing at normal speed? What types of impressions, expressions, and attitudes indicate the social and cultural level of the individual? At present there is much difference of opinion on the socialization value of different activities. We are in an uncharted field with little to guide us. Only exhaustive experimentation

will give us refined and accurate tests of the speed and normality of the socialization process. The method for roughly testing the socialization process in the individual is put forth here not as a perfected device, but as a suggested basis for future experiments.

The method used in making a sociological test of groups of Iowa school children living in town and country was as follows:

1. The impressional life of the school child was divided into that coming through the medium or agency of:

a. Books, magazines, and newspapers.

b. Radio.

c. Events of socializing value such as programs, visits, lectures, concerts which occurred outside of the local community, but which were attended by the person tested.

d. Events of social significance such as programs, lectures, and chautauquas, which occurred within the community and which were attended by the person tested.

To determine the extent to which the individual utilized the various socialization opportunities surrounding him, lists were prepared of books with their titles and authors, magazine articles recently appearing in standard magazines, radio programs, extra-local events, and local events, —which the subject was invited to check off.

2. The expressional life of the school child was divided into:

a. Activities expressive of dramatic ability; participation in plays, pageants, artistic dances, pantomimes, etc.

b. Activities expressive of musical talent: singing, playing stringed or wind instruments, etc.

c. Activities expressive of speaking ability: debating, extemporaneous talking and so on.

d. Activities expressive of leadership ability: directing clubs, meetings, play days, financial drives, etc.

e. Activities expressive of the sociable nature: banquets, picnics, writing friendship letters, etc.

f. Activities expressive of the religious nature: Bible reading, worship, evangelistic work, etc.

g. Activities expressive of athletic ability: baseball, basket ball, skating, horse-shoe pitching, etc.

h. Activities expressive of miscellaneous abilities: running tractors, baking bread, making radios, etc.

These various activities were listed in classified form. The individual

checked the activities participated in during the year and placed in an opposite column the number of times he had so expressed himself.

3. A group of true and false questions indicating social and anti-social attitudes was filled in by the subject whenever the time was available.

a. Attitudes towards fellow associates.

b. Attitudes towards the social order.

c. Attitudes towards people of other races and classes.

d. Attitudes towards life's values.

e. Attitudes towards parents and teachers.

f. Attitudes towards truth.

In rating the test several methods may be followed.

1. Individuals may be given a high or low rating according to the number of events of social and cultural value they have been impressed by, according to the number of events of an expressional character they have participated in, and according to the ratio between their social and anti-social attitudes.

2. Individuals may be placed according to the ratio between the high type and low type impressional and expressional events in their lives.

3. A frequency curve or an array may be formed for each type of impression and expression. Individuals above the mode or median are super-normal in that particular performance and may be assigned some index number such as 150. Individuals at the mode may be assigned 100 while individuals below the mode may be classed as sub-normal and perhaps given 50. The index numbers for the different performances may be averaged and a general index number derived.

4. Standards for each type of performance may be developed by "pace-setting" individuals who set high records for reading, acting, musical work, and leadership activities.

In this way the test evaluates the richness of the social environment; in this way it measures the ability and desire of the individual to utilize the socializing opportunities to which he has access.

5. Each impressional and expressional event occurring within the period used for comparison is assigned symbols which indicate the elements which it contributes to the developing personality. Thus, a church service, a quite common event in the life of many, is marked with the symbol ABCD, and thus given credit in the A, B, C, and D columns. The church service is given an A rating because it contains a religious element and makes this contribution to the person who is exposed. This event is also given a B mark because it has an educational element, a C mark be-

cause it has a musical element, and a D mark because it develops an atmosphere of sociability. The participation of an individual in a play or dialogue is given an OD symbol, O standing for the expression of public-speaking talent and D for the manifestation of dramatic ability. In this way the hundred or more events of socializing value which annually occur in the life of the subject can be reduced roughly to a common group of experiential elements.

The writer with the help of advanced students used this test to study the socialization of a group of 180 high school children located in a central Iowa area comprising parts of Boone, Polk, and Story counties. For the purpose of contrast these groups of children were selected from city, town, and country. It should be noted that the large, city high school selects more rigidly than the country high school, and that on this account a greater number of the city group will rank above the average. The survey does not include enough individuals to warrant generalizations about the relative sociological performance of city and country children or of the children of different occupational groups. Its main purpose is served if it illustrates the application of this type of sociological analysis. With

FREQUENCY TABLE SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIFIC IMPRESSIONAL EVENTS AMONG 180 IOWA HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN

Number of Impressional Events	Number of Individuals Experiencing Events of Type				
	A	B	C	D	E
0— 29	44	6	13	33	43
30— 59	35	13	16	31	45
60— 89	35	19	28	31	26
90—119	31	25	33	29	21
120—149	15	26	23	24	18
150—179	17	29	19	17	10
180—209	2	12	19	10	9
210—239	..	19	11	1	3
240—269	..	17	6	1	2
270—299	1	6	3	2	..
300—329	..	2	2	1	..
330—359	..	4	3	..	2
360—489	..	..	3	..	1
490 and over	..	2	1	..	..

KEY TO SYMBOLS

A—Religious events contributing to the religious self.
B—Educational events contributing to the intellectual self.
C—Musical events contributing to the musical self.
D—Social events contributing to the sociable self.
E—Recreational events contributing to the sport, or fun-loving self.

so small a group, quite violent fluctuations are to be expected. The following frequency tables indicate the distribution of impressional and expressional events among the 180 high school children which were investigated.

FREQUENCY TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF EXPRESSIONAL EVENTS AMONG 180 HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN

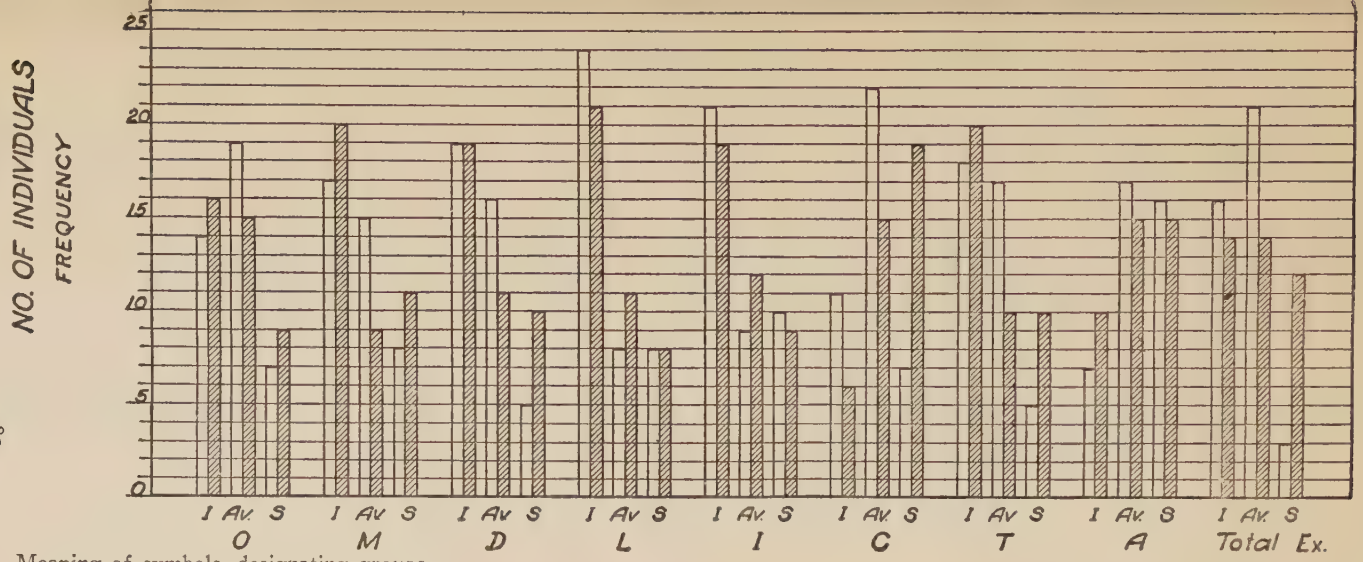
Number of Expressional Events	Number of Individuals Experiencing Events of Type												
	A	C	O	D	M	L	I	T	R	G	E	W	B
0	20	19	64	90	70	87	56	66	94	51	167	131	128
1— 9	31	55	86	69	53	63	78	60	55	41	8	41	50
10— 19	24	29	11	4	23	14	24	28	14	37	2	7	1
20— 29	19	19	11	7	10	2	9	11	7	23	2	1	..
30— 39	12	12	2	2	4	5	5	6	5	7	..	..	..
40— 49	10	4	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	4	..	..	1
50— 59	5	6	4	3	9	3	3	3	2	6	1	..	..
60— 69	10	5	..	..	4	2	2	2	1	6	..	..	..
70— 79	6	3	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	3	..	..	..
80— 89	8	7	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
90— 99	5	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
100—109	6	3	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..
110—119	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
120—129	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
130—139	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
140—149	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
150—159	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
160—169	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
170—179	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
180—189	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
190—199	1	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
200—229	4	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
300—399	5	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
400—499	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
500 and over....	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

LEGEND:

Expressional Events Developing Individual Talent.
A—Talent in athletics.
C—Talent for constructing things.
O—Declamatory and oratorical talent.
D—Dramatic talent.
M—Musical talent.
L—Talent in leadership.
I—Talent for creative thought.
T—Talent for team work.
R—Talent for outdoor recreation—hunting, fishing, etc.
G—Talent for such games as cards, pool, checkers, etc.
E—Talent for collecting and exhibiting things.
W—Talent for authorship and writing.
B—Talent for business and money-making.

FIGURE 10

Comparative Sociological Ratings of 40 Country and 40 City High School Children



Meaning of symbols, designating groups.

I = Inferior rating. Index number 0-49 for A, B, C, D, and E; 0-24 for O, M, D, L. I, C, T, and A.
Av = Average rating. Index number 50-149 for A, B, C, D, E; 25-199 for O, M, D, L, I, C, T, and A.
S = Superior rating. Index number 150 and above for A, B, C, D, E; 200 and above for O, M, D, L, I, C, T ,and A.

Meaning of symbols designating sociological impression and expression.

Impression

A	worship, religion
B	education, instruction
C	music
D	sociability, friendship
E	recreation, play, fun
Im.	impressions

Expression

O	speaking, debating
M	music
D	dramatics
L	leadership
I	creative thought
C	craftsmanship
T	team work
A	athletics
Ex.	expressions

TABLE SHOWING COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGICAL RATINGS OF RANDOM SAMPLES OF 40 HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN CLASSIFIED AS TO OCCUPATION OF FATHER

Occupation of Father	Index Ratings in Different Types of Sociological Performance																		
	Impressions						Expressions												
	A	B	C	D	E	TI	A	C	O	D	M	L	I	T	R	G	E	W	B	TE
Farm Tenant																				
Child No. 1.....	81	94	68	95	71	82	128	100	180	175	20	25	600	20	50	238	1	0	50	122
2.....	77	102	127	125	172	121	180	70	200	200	70	25	17	145	50	175	0	0	50	91
3.....	35	17	92	42	5	38	12	4000	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	10	0	0	0	310
4.....	61	128	57	78	240	113	106	500	80	50	20	0	370	25	25	130	0	0	50	104
5.....	73	55	59	85	62	67	175	184	0	500	50	750	500	10	0	200	0	20	100	191
6.....	130	75	71	123	58	92	4	0	27	0	10	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	50	9
7.....	227	49	94	66	39	95	459	10	120	25	70	0	33	175	300	50	0	0	0	96
8.....	90	18	18	10	15	30	63	30	28	0	30	25	0	30	0	27	0	0	100	25
9.....	174	118	119	158	262	166	23	80	0	75	270	100	67	30	0	70	0	0	0	55
10.....	17	44	26	25	38	30	45	80	20	25	0	0	0	75	50	242	0	0	400	72
Average for group.	96	70	73	81	96	83	119	505	66	105	54	92	159	52	50	114	.1	2.	80	107
Farm Owner																				
Child No. 1.....	213	151	165	211	110	170	230	50	0	0	320	50	110	0	0	135	400	0	0	100
2.....	56	68	45	54	41	65	380	10	80	25	0	0	10	0	100	282	17	60	56	78
3.....	135	109	109	141	74	113	721	25	60	0	340	0	100	130	25	190	0	0	50	126
4.....	125	121	106	139	163	131	1000	50	100	25	10	0	170	0	825	40	0	0	0	170
5.....	37	96	50	111	220	103	128	130	40	100	258	500	0	130	0	170	0	80	50	122
6.....	215	195	178	310	206	221	370	185	240	0	220	50	0	260	125	162	0	540	150	177
7.....	16	43	25	52	83	44	128	65	60	25	110	625	0	20	0	230	0	400	100	136
8.....	77	109	69	76	49	76	38	20	0	0	58	0	0	140	0	78	0	0	0	26
9.....	158	152	125	224	302	172	310	0	0	0	0	0	0	90	250	620	0	0	100	105
10.....	0	29	12	0	30	16	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	0	3
Average for group.	103	107	88	133	127	111	332	53	58	17	131	123	39	77	135	191	42	108	51	104

Occupation of Father	Index Ratings * in Different Types of Sociological Performance																		
	Impressions						Expressions												
	A	B	C	D	E	TI	A	C	O	D	M	L	I	T	R	G	E	W	B	TE
Laborer																				
Child No. 1.....	109	122	137	158	160	136	910	40	160	25	50	25	0	90	0	130	0	0	0	110
2.....	88	85	165	119	308	155	1350	360	120	0	0	0	83	1500	775	390	0	0	0	352
3.....	205	170	159	200	102	167	76	375	60	50	20	0	0	245	75	110	0	0	100	85
4.....	11	107	108	18	190	87	90	260	80	725	100	25	17	225	0	300	0	0	0	140
5.....	62	73	42	45	78	69	0	37	0	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	40	0	0	8
6.....	23	38	74	12	125	54	245	0	0	0	0	75	0	560	350	70	66	0	0	105
7.....	123	93	81	105	44	89	477	120	480	1000	60	50	1050	450	100	300	0	80	0	321
8.....	152	104	84	154	122	123	20	80	520	50	0	0	420	0	50	100	0	0	0	95
9.....	43	38	49	25	23	35	97	210	0	0	0	0	17	61	0	0	0	0	0	30
10.....	89	93	89	90	97	95	12	100	16	25	70	25	33	0	0	120	0	0	0	31
Average for group.	99	92	98	92	124	101	328	158	144	187	30	20	165	313	135	152	11	8	10	128
Professional																				
Child No. 1.....	45	184	114	159	321	165	338	50	3160	4875	180	0	17	0	25	0	0	3000	0	896
2.....	270	211	178	237	303	240	550	180	840	525	735	1950	1100	650	0	530	3350	60	0	805
3.....	338	192	195	310	110	229	60	140	120	0	0	0	17	250	0	120	0	20	100	64
4.....	218	162	181	190	144	179	35	780	40	500	10	100	450	5	0	20	0	0	0	149
5.....	177	114	115	166	55	125	204	0	180	50	0	0	17	0	0	380	0	100	0	72
6.....	45	141	147	166	242	148	0	295	40	50	90	50	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
7.....	31	58	595	48	75	161	38	2700	40	25	0	50	33	90	50	600	0	0	0	279
8.....	171	153	125	170	158	157	86	30	80	75	80	0	200	20	0	135	0	0	0	54
9.....	82	111	126	130	194	129	150	170	20	1265	124	0	0	0	0	390	0	0	0	163
10.....	121	197	147	110	280	171	28	235	80	250	0	0	260	0	0	70	0	0	0	71
Average for group.	150	152	192	167	188	170	149	458	460	762	122	215	211	102	8	225	335	318	10	260

* These ratings are expressed in relative terms through index numbers. The number 100 means that the individual rates—in this performance—the same as did the median child of the entire group of 180 high school children.

Key to symbols, used to designate impressions

A religious
B educational
C musical
D social
E recreational
TI composite rating on all impressions

Key to symbols, used to designate expressions

A athletics
C craftsmanship
O elocution and oratory
D dramatics
M music
L leadership
I creative thinking
T team work, cooperation
R outdoor recreation
G indoor, inactive games
E collecting, exhibiting
W authorship, literary composition
B business, money-making
TE composite rating on all expressions

FREQUENCY TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF IMPRESSIONAL AND EXPRESSIONAL EVENTS AMONG 180 HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN

Number of Events	Number of Children Experiencing	
	Impressional Events	Expressional Events
0— 99	7	63
100— 199	20	45
200— 299	16	30
300— 399	18	10
400— 499	26	9
500— 599	23	8
600— 699	20	5
700— 799	10	3
800— 899	15	4
900— 999	8	..
1000—1099	6	..
1100—1199	5	2
1200—1299	1	..
1300—1399	2	..
1400—1499	2	..
1500—1599	..	..
1600—1699	1	1
1700 and over	..	..

For many purposes of comparison, however, relative values are more significant than absolute values. For this reason it is desirable to reduce each number representing expressional or impressional events to an index number. Glancing at this index number, the reader can immediately tell whether John or Mary is above or below the group norm in their musical or oratorical performance.

The index figures given in the graph—which is to follow—are based on the performances of median children selected from our group of 180 Iowa, high school children. For each impressional and expressional performance, the actors are arrayed and the median selected. This median performance is assigned the index number 100. Thus, for any type of impression or expression, a rating below 100 would mean that in this respect the child was below the normal for the group. The opposite would hold for numbers above 100. Naturally, many children who rate high in one type of performance may rate low in another. An arithmetical average of all impressional ratings furnishes a composite or total impressional rating. The same is true for expressions. In Figure 10 a comparison is made of groups of country and city children which were selected at random.

The matter presented in Figure 10 presents the factor of residence in city or country as an important socialization influence. The next compari-

son, developed on pages 82 and 83, endeavors to illustrate the sociological test as applied to studying the factor of occupational selection.

Only in a very limited degree has the sociological test been used to evaluate the influence of intelligence upon socialization. A group of high school children, chosen from our survey area in Iowa, had I.Q.s or intelligence quotients ranging from 88 to 122. For the group, whose mental tests ranged from 109-122, the impressional index was 102 and the expressional index 127. For the group whose mental tests ranged from 88-91, the impressional index was 79 and the expressional index 72. However, there are many individuals who have excellent mental endowment, but who do not use their powers to advantage. Thus, a child whose I. Q. was 112 had a sociological rating of 83 for impressions and 48 for expressions. Contrast this with the child whose I. Q. was 96 and whose impressional and expressional rating was 221 and 166 respectively.

The few sociological tests, introduced at this place, would seem to indicate that there is an enormous variation in the social life of human beings. While some lives are extremely rich in certain types of impression and expression, other lives seem entirely wanting in such directions. Through the more exact measurement of these fluctuations in socialization activities, it should be possible to discover the more important influences and factors which govern this interesting process of personality building.

The measurement of sociological performance is by no means an easy task, for human life as lived in modern society, is a very complex thing to separate into its component elements. But there is every reason to hope that a proper application of statistical method will overcome most of the difficulties.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Distinguish between the philosophical and the scientific development of a subject. Is sociology a science? Why? What different methods may be used in developing a social science? What are the limitations of the "common sense" method? The historical method? The laboratory method? The statistical method?
2. Show how the perfection of methods of measuring values, magnitudes, and speeds helps fulfill Comte's notion that a positive science follows the method of observation, comparison, and experimentation. Distinguish between qualitative and quantitative observation. Comparison.
3. Would physics be a science if we made absolute accuracy of measurements the criterion? Show how the degree of accuracy of measure-

ment necessary to make scientific comparisons varies between different sciences.

4. Is it possible to measure such invisible things as electricity and heat which we cannot see, weigh, or put into a gallon measure? Explain. Can psychic forces and social processes be measured?
5. What must we do in order to measure things? What conditions must a successful unit of measure meet? Show how the use of a statistical norm for significant mental performance by the psychologist enables him to measure the intelligence of any particular boy or girl. Is there such a thing as a normal social performance or adjustment under a given environment?
6. Show the need for more accurate means of observing and comparing the phenomena of socialization.
7. Discuss the standard of life as a measure of socialization. The social-contact method. What are social contacts? In what different ways may we classify them? How may we, under actual field conditions, determine the social contacts of a community, or organization?
8. Show how, by making a detailed analysis of the impressions and expressions of a person, we can develop a sociological test. Make out a list of good books, good magazine articles, radio programs, and local events. Add to this a list of the various activities—debating, singing, acting, hiking, etc.—which people indulge in. Have a group of your friends check these lists. How many are leading "broad" lives? "Deep" lives?

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CHAPTER V

THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE COUNTRY IN ITS SOCIAL ASPECTS

THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND RURAL LIFE

One of the best indexes of the general welfare, and to some extent of the socialization of a people, is the standard of living. It indicates more than the power to earn or produce; it gives a clue to the ability to spend and consume constructively. In the long run society judges cultural and social levels by the way money is expended, rather than by the way it is produced. One family earning $1500 a year dissipates it in drink, opium, and vice. Another family with the same income, while neatly furnishing the home, gives hundreds of dollars towards education, religion, and charity. Niggardly families live a threadbare existence upon $10,000 a year. People struggle for a living, and nobody, even a Crœsus, can take more out of the world than a living.

Over a half century ago philanthropists began family investigations in order to understand better, scientifically, the way in which people disposed of their incomes. Incidentally, figures were secured through this family case-work which told the tale of insufficient money to buy nutritious food and comfortable quarters. Much light was thrown by such workers as Engel upon the quantitative side of human welfare. Some idea was gained as to what a family of ordinary size would have to spend in order to live at the minimum of physical efficiency. Engel discovered that the proportions of the income spent for different items changed with the enlargement of the income. Previous to the last few years, practically all of the research work in this field was prosecuted among the families of laboring men in large industrial centers, while little was done in rural districts. In the first place, the continuous insistence of organized labor upon higher wages raised the question of the living wage; in the second place, rural income was composed of so many elements that it was difficult to arrive at the farmer's money-cost of living. But the emergencies of agriculture as a business stimulated studies on the cost of production and its sequel, the cost of living.

Through such studies new problems and viewpoints have been intro-

duced. Thus, it was noticed that while Danish or Belgian agriculture was more efficient from the acre-yield standpoint, American agriculture was more efficient from the standard-of-life standpoint. Thus we begin now to talk about the "economic farm," and a "living price" for corn, and to use immigration restriction and a protective tariff to guard the American standard of life.

In the production of economic utilities man becomes a machine, while in the enjoyment or consumption of such utilities he becomes a human being, actuated by his instincts, interests, and culture habits. Hence, men are more fully revealed by their expenditures than by their earnings. There is always a close relation between civilization, economic surplus, leisure time, and cultural consumption. With the rise of civilization, a greater proportion of income has been spent for the things called cultural.

Just how do people live in the country? Do low standards of life have anything to do with the migration to the cities, and the wholesale desertion of rural homes? Does the farmer have as much to wear, eat, and enjoy as the average city dweller? Do high living costs in the corn belt have anything to do with rising production costs, dwindling profits, and farm foreclosures? What price for corn or wheat will support a decent standard of living? Such questions as these, which have a vital relation to rural welfare, are solved chiefly by the study of the standard of living in the country.

The student of rural socialization cannot afford to overlook its physical and economic background. Unwise consumption of social surplus retards community socialization. The expenditure for the activities which socialize comes from a relatively small fraction of the total family budget which can, quite easily, be obliterated. In fact this part of the budget is generally sacrificed before any cut is made in that which covers the more primitive demands for food, shelter, and clothing. Low living standards are quite closely correlated with the poverty in wants which so impedes the process of community socialization. Good organization for socialization depends largely upon the surplus which can be saved by efficient budgeting. The standard of living is the base upon which the more delicate process of culturization goes on.

WHAT IS A STANDARD OF LIVING?

The standard of living has been defined upon the basis of subsistence, comfort, and luxury. The concept has emerged, for the most part, around these three levels. The older economists regarded the average working

man much as the farmer looks upon his horse, namely, as needing a bare physical existence. Thus, the standard of life would include clothing, food, and shelter sufficient to maintain workers at physical efficiency. The Chinese coolie and the Russian peasant exist upon such a basis. Due to the low cost of rearing children under such a standard, families are large and populations rapidly increase up to the point where starvation and pestilence impinge. In America, today, there is a large group of workers with incomes ranging from $700 to $900 which are practically upon a bare subsistence basis. Two weeks of sickness reduces them to paupers. Upon this physical theory of human life, the "iron law of wages" was propounded, which maintained that wages should be sufficient to give merely a subsistence[1] to the working family. Others conceive of a standard of life as consisting of those things and services which people customarily consider necessary for physical, mental, and social comfort, and which, taken together, maintain their position in society. Fourteen hundred dollars or more would today yield perhaps a few comforts to a family of five. Two thousand dollars would permit such comforts as furnace heat, electric lights, bathroom, automobile, "movies," Sunday clothes, dental care, etc. On such a scale of living, foresight, saving, and thrift supplant despair and recklessness. Home-owning and citizenship emerge. Families are regulated more carefully, because the extra child may mean fewer rugs and books. Kirkpatrick, working on this basis, defines the standard of life:[2] "It may be regarded as a measure of life in terms of the sum total of values enjoyed by the family, as evidenced through the acquisition and expenditure of income, and through the use of time in the satisfaction of wants for things both material (as food, clothing, and shelter), and spiritual (as education, music, and art)."

The Washington Bureau of Applied Economics[3] uses this comfort basis for what is termed "the standard of decency and health."

"(1) A sufficiency of nourishing food for the maintenance of health, particularly the children's health;

"(2) Housing in low-rent neighborhoods and within the smallest possible number of rooms consistent with decency, but with sufficient light, heat and toilet facilities for the maintenance of health and decency;

[1] Under free immigration it is conceivable that American wages could be brought to this point for farmer as well as industrial worker. Just as bad money drives out good money, subsistence standards of wages drive out comfort standards.

[2] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming.* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 423, p. 5.

[3] *Standard of Living.* Bureau of Applied Economics Inc., Bulletin No. 7, pp. 27-28.

"(3) The upkeep of household equipment, such as kitchen utensils, bedding, and linen, necessary for health, but with no provision for the purchase of additional furniture;

"(4) Clothing sufficient for warmth, of a sufficiently good quality to be economical, but with no further regard for appearance and style than is necessary to permit the family members to appear in public and within their rather narrow social circle without slovenliness or loss of self-respect;

"(5) A surplus over the above expenditures which would permit of only a minimum outlay for such necessary demands as:

(a) Street car fares to and from work and necessary rides to stores and markets;
(b) The keeping up of modest amount of insurance;
(c) Medical and dental care;
(d) Contributions to churches and labor or beneficial organizations;
(e) Simple amusements, such as moving pictures once in a while, occasional street car rides for pleasure, some Christmas gifts for the children, etc.;
(f) Daily newspapers."

Certain factors enter in to modify the concept of the standard of life. As people develop and prosper, they rise from the subsistence to the social and spiritual standard. The percentage spent for primary needs tends to diminish and the percentage spent for things of culture and companionship to increase. Naturally, we must take a standard family as a basis. Two thousand dollars might represent a high standard of living for a family of two, but a low one for a family of ten. Occupation and social environment must also be considered. A satisfactory living standard for a miner's family would not suffice for the minister's family. Living standards always have a strong local and racial color. In modern, civilized society outlay is largely influenced by such social factors as custom, tradition, and fashion.

Kirkpatrick,[4] in his study of the farmer's standard of life, insists upon certain things which he deems necessary to spiritual well-being such as, "Education of children, not only for a trade or a profession, but for life as well—that is, the molding of character required to meet both the economic and the moral situations, encountered in later life . . . continued education through reading, travel, and observation . . . ability to appreciate art . . . Capacity to enjoy social relationships within the neighborhood, and the community, and ability to work in unison for the further development of the home, the school and other social agencies and insti-

[4] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 6.

tutions." He thus centers attention upon a section of the budget relatively unimportant in primitive life, but quite indicative of socialization levels under modern rural conditions. The part of the family expenditures ordinarily listed as "miscellaneous," "sundries," "incidentals," etc., if sufficiently classified, contains the key to the social and spiritual well-being of the family.

In the development of a standard of life, we can note the migration of luxuries into the category of necessities. At one time a telephone or an automobile may be regarded as a luxury, fit only for the rich; a decade later these may be regarded as necessities rightfully entered into the cost-of-living budget. "Movies," automobiles, books, radios, phonographs, etc., have found a place in the living standards of our American laborer and farmer so that it is fruitless to ask them to go back to peasant standards. Such an advancement generally signifies an elevation of the plane of a people's welfare.

That the standard of life is gauged by money income, is one of our popular fallacies. For, the addition to material wealth does not cure poverty in wants, tendency to rear too many children, or the inability to spend wisely. In hundreds of instances charity workers, realizing lack of wisdom in utilizing money, give relief in terms of tickets to the dentist or shoes for the family. A social welfare worker told the writer a unique and interesting story of a corn-belt family which seemed to be in dire distress. The children were in rags, the house filthy, and the sick mother without medical attention. The county could grant no money relief because the father had a clear title to a fair-sized farm. It is well known that a miser, for all his money, will lead a threadbare, beggarly life. Among large masses of any population, increased wages are offset by an ever-growing family. Without education and socialization, money is powerless to secure any permanent or worth-while elevation of the standard of life.

RELATION OF THE STANDARD OF LIFE TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

There is probably no one factor that has more fundamental relations to economic questions and social philosophy than the standard of life.

The standard of life as a regulator of population and wages. Nations and families with low living standards tend to over-populate. With a higher standard of life, there will be more people in the older age groups, and fewer children. A standard-of-life check begins to operate before a population multiplies to the point where malnutrition and the diseases of

poverty check further increase. With a standard-of-life check operating, a population will so adjust offspring to prospects that the level of comfort will be maintained. By educating a population to a higher standard of life, we reduce the birth rate, death rate, and labor supply, with the result that wages, production per man, machinery per man, and living levels rise.

Theories of wages have always tended to be inadequate and circular in their logic. Marginal utility theories or marginal productivity concepts can give an ultimate explanation of the cost of capital and land in terms of the physical supply and limitations, since these two factors of production cost are material and non-human. The supply of labor and the cost of the work hour furnished by the last marginal addition of laborers to the existing supply are limited not by physical factors, but by psychic and human forces. What is the cost of producing a bushel of corn? About one-third of this cost is labor, another one-third capital, and another one-third land. In the case of such products as men's suits, the labor cost runs up to two-thirds or three-fourths. The cost of labor is determined in the long run by the cost of rearing a laborer, or in short by the standard of life. With higher standards prevailing, the tendency is towards smaller families, fewer laborers, and higher wages. Through greater use of machinery and capital per laborer—when capital and land are relatively cheaper—this higher labor cost is paid by a greater efficiency per man.

No permanent improvement of a people can come without education to higher standards of living. Higher wages come with higher standards of life, but higher living standards do not always come with higher wages. Too often the farmer believes that a lack of remuneration for his products is the only thing that tends to keep his standard of life at a low level, and that his remedy is merely to fix prices. It is next to impossible to raise materially the wages of people who adopt peasant standards of life. If the farmers in the corn belt set up a social standard of life upon a $2000 level, the supply of farmers will tend to be restricted to a point where such a standard can be maintained. It is the farmers with peasant standards, who remain year after year in one locality working for meager returns, that force down the living standards.

Standards of life can be maintained even with population increase when resources in the way of new lands, mines, and industries are opened up with sufficient rapidity. Thus, in the United States, we have witnessed a rapid increase in population along with rising standards of life. While the population of the United States from 1850 to 1900 increased over 200 percent, the production of our major cereals increased over 400 percent.

Cotton, coal, and pig iron production also increased much faster than the population. It is evident that any nation which is opening up vast, virgin resources will, for a time, show a rapidly-rising standard of life in the face of heavy additions to its population. While since 1900 our population has increased around 60 percent, the production of agricultural products has shown only slight increases. At any rate, production has not kept pace with popoulation, indicating that we are approaching more nearly a saturation point where further increases of population are likely to menace the standard of life.

Does the standard of life rise with increased wages or do increased wages come with higher psychic standards of life? Should the price of corn be raised to elevate the farmers' standard of life, or should the farmers' standard of life be raised by education and custom to lift the price of corn? Raising the wages of coolies merely tends to increase their numbers to such an extent that the surplus is speedily absorbed. But raising the standard of life checks numbers and tends to bring a permanently higher level of real wages. The standard of life is like a float which regulates the level of water in a tank. Set the float high and the water reaches the higher levels of the tank; set the standard of life high and the level of living rises in society; set it low and the level of life sinks. It is futile to attempt to elevate the standard of life through increased money pay, when there is a poverty of wants and no restraint on reproduction. Figure 11 will serve to illustrate the influence of the standard of life upon population.

It should be noted that immigration has the same effect as an increased birth rate, since it adds population but not resources to a country. If the standards are low, there is a tendency to substitute hand labor for machinery and to reduce the size of land holdings. The best criterion of an immigration policy is the effect it has upon the standard of life.

THE ECONOMIC-SIZED FARM

From the standpoint of acre economy and high yields, intensive, garden-type farming is more efficient; from the standpoint of man economy, extensive, large-scale agriculture is often more efficient. By yield per acre the Chinese, Japanese, or Danish farmer is more efficient than the American farmer. By yield per man the American farmer is over three times as efficient as the French farmer, and over six times as efficient as the Italian farmer. While the acres of the latter produce more,

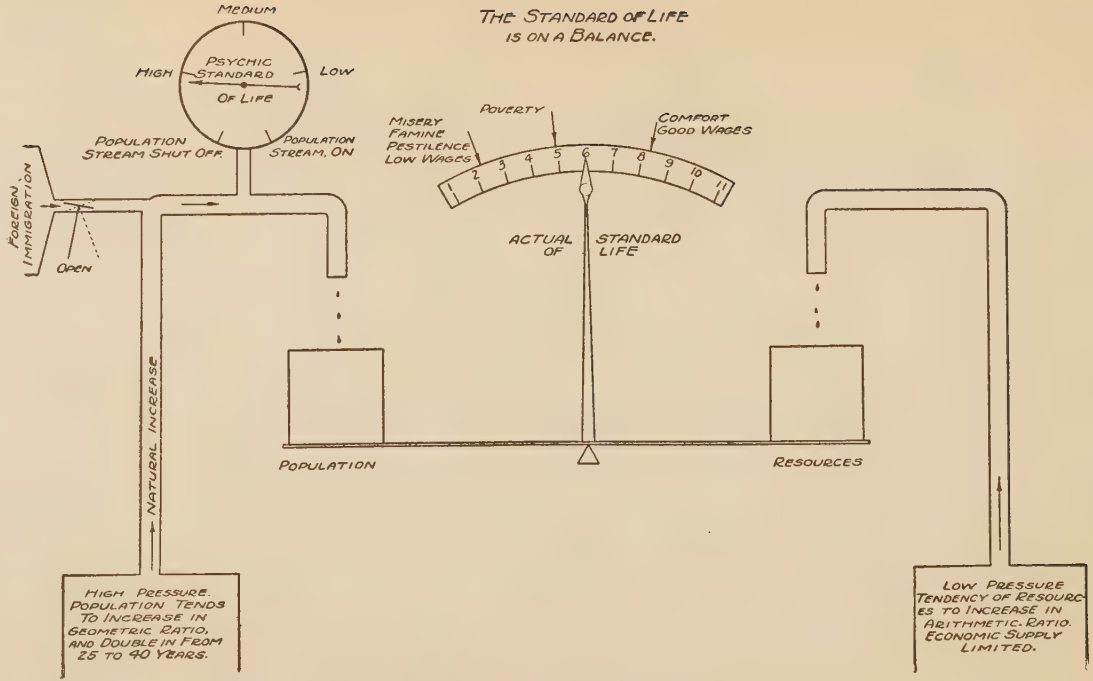
THE STANDARD OF LIFE IS ON A BALANCE.
MEDIUM
PSYCHIC STANDARD OF LIFE
HIGH
LOW
POPULATION STREAM SHUT OFF.
POPULATION STREAM, ON
FOREIGN IMMIGRATION
OPEN
NATURAL INCREASE
MISERY FAMINE PESTILENCE LOW WAGES
POVERTY
COMFORT GOOD WAGES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
ACTUAL STANDARD OF LIFE
POPULATION
RESOURCES
HIGH PRESSURE. POPULATION TENDS TO INCREASE IN GEOMETRIC RATIO, AND DOUBLE IN FROM 25 TO 40 YEARS.
LOW PRESSURE TENDENCY OF RESOURCES TO INCREASE IN ARITHMETIC RATIO. ECONOMIC SUPPLY LIMITED.
WILL WE SET THE POPULATION REGULATORS FOR COMFORT OR MISERY?

FIGURE I

there are not enough of them to support a high standard of life. It is well known that European and Oriental countries have peasant-sized farms, yet there are those who would gladly see the United States so densely populated that intensive agriculture and acre economy would be forced at the expense of the standard of life. The following diagram illustrates the effect of small, uneconomic farms on the standard of life.

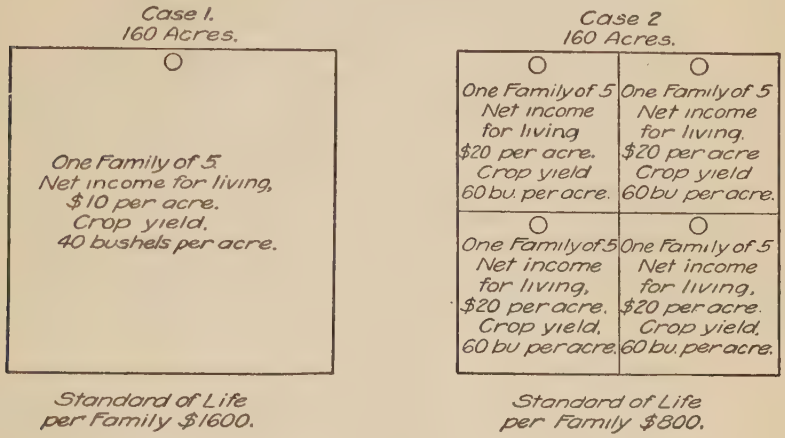

FIGURE 12

The Economic Farm, and the Standard of Living

It should be noted here that both the crop yield and the net income per acre is greater in case 2; and so naturally most persons would look upon it as more efficient agriculture. Yet, it should be noted that the standard of living of the family in case 1 is twice as high as that in case 2. If eight or sixteen families were compelled to extract a living from this 160 acres, the acre yields would further rise, but the average standard of life would fall. France has maintained for some time a stationary population, in order to avoid cutting up the farms, and thus lowering the living standard of succeeding generations. There are many striking contrasts between a "man economy" and an "acre economy." Certainly a strong case is not presented for a large population, swelled by foreign immigration and a high birth rate.

The farms which will maintain a decent standard of life for the average farm family will vary for different types of agriculture. On ranch land it would perhaps be several thousand acres. In dairy regions it might be forty acres. In corn-belt areas it is likely to be above one-hundred-and-

An Acre Economy	*A Man Economy*
Acres economized at the expense of men.	Man economized at the expense of acres.
1. Small garden farms.	1. Large economic-sized farms.
2. Intensive tillage. High yields per acre. Low yield per man.	2. Extensive tillage. Low acre yields. High yields per man.
3. Dense population. (290 to 6000 per square mile.)	3. Sparse population. (22 per square mile.)
4. Manual agriculture. Garden farms cannot afford machinery.	4. Machine farming. Economic farms can afford machinery.
5. Over 90 percent of people on farms.	5. Less than 35 percent of people on farms.
6. High death rate and birth rate. Population kept down by famine and pestilence. High birth rate − High death rate = 0. ⅐ to ⅓ infants die before they are one year old.	6. Low birth rate and death rate. Low death rate − Low birth rate = gain in population. Conserving of human life. Less than 1/10 infants die before they are one year old.
7. 75 percent to 90 percent illiterate. Few have school advantages.	7. 2 percent to 8 percent illiterate. Average 5th to 7th grade education.
8. Low wages and labor return. Wages $5 to $20 per month.	8. Wages $35 to $75 per month.
9. Low standard of life. Farm family lives on $82 to $500 per year.	9. High standard of life. Farm family lives on $1000 to $3000 per year.

sixty acres. Bizzell [5] quotes from surveys in Chester County, Pennsylvania to show that farmers on 57.7 acres had a labor income of $819, those on 109.6 acres, $1641, while those on 163 acres had a labor income of $2583. Kirkpatrick [6] gives figures which show that the average expenditure, for all purposes, per cost-consumption-unit on farms below 50 acres was $449, while that on farms of 200-299 was $681. Over this the increase was slight, indicating that the economic farm was at this level. By using this measure, we can determine the economic-sized farm for practically any type of farming.

Such is a better guide to agricultural progress than acre yield. It tends to keep the population balance between city and agricultural industries. More farmers may mean a lower standard of life. Machinery and agricultural efficiency make it possible for one man to raise two or three times the amount of crop as formerly, provided he can get the acres. The employment of over two-thirds of our labor force in the city industries has made it possible to raise the standard of life of those who remained on the farm. This urban movement, of course, can be overdone and cause a glut of labor in the country.

[5] Bizzell, W. B., *Farm Tenantry in the United States.* Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 278, p. 143.

[6] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 72.

EDUCATION AND THE STANDARD OF LIFE

Education is far more important than increases in money wages in raising the standard of life. The material standard of life can never rise above the psychic standard. Education creates new sets of wants and desires much the same way that "high pressure" advertising, entry into higher social cliques, and lavish window dressing stimulate desires for automobiles, evening costumes, radios, and costly silverware. In some, these new wants augment the temptation to speculate and to increase their salary or profits through increased physical or mental efficiency. In almost every case, the size of the family is limited. The net result is that we bring about a population with high productivity per man but with a falling birth rate. Some deem education dangerous because it makes boys and girls discontented with low standards of life. However, it should be remembered that when these new wants are socially constructive, they become the basis for the readjustment of population to resources at permanently higher levels of living. Without education, China and India can never materially raise their standard of life; without education, the farmer cannot expect to maintain farm prices which will maintain a higher standard of life. It is difficult for half of the farming population to maintain standards of living, when the other half are ready to over-populate the land and adopt peasant standards, for under such a régime, farms will be cut up, and labor income lowered.

Interesting correlations have been shown between education and standards of life. Kirkpatrick's[7] survey in rural New York shows that where both parents have an eighth grade education or less, their average expenditure for all purposes per cost-consumption-unit is $502. Where both parents have either an 11th or 12th grade education, this consumption rises to $679, and where both have had from one to four years in college the figure is $848. Average social values per family in form of education, books, membership in organizations, etc., rise under similar conditions from an index rating of 169 to 284. A Wisconsin study gives figures[8] which further corroborate this contention. Over one-quarter of the high school farmers in the Wisconsin area had automobiles as compared to one-fifth of the common school farmers; over two-fifths of the college farmers had furnace heat and bathrooms as compared to somewhat over one-fifth of the common school farmers. Investigations in Western Iowa

[7] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[8] United States Vocational Rehabilitation Series, No. 33, p. 4.

indicate that the farmer with the high school or college education tends to maintain a higher living standard, materially and culturally, than the farmer with less education. Then, the slogan should be education and better living standards to secure living prices for agricultural products.

THE FARMERS' STANDARD OF LIFE

Many erroneous notions have prevailed about the farmers' living standard. Thousands of high school boys and girls as well as many misinformed teachers believe that the standards of living are much higher in the city. Many young people are leaving the farm with the notion that it provides a meager existence as compared with the city job. Furthermore, the public has been in doubt concerning the contribution, above the cash return, which the farm makes to the standard of life. In fact, this contribution of the garden and chickens has made it difficult to compare rural and urban standards, especially since very inadequate records are kept of the receipts from truck patch and poultry pen.

At present, when there has been much agitation against the high cost of living and so much emphasis upon the need of increased farm returns to maintain such crop production costs, such accurate figures as will indicate what it costs either working-men's families or farmers' families to live are vital.

Many farmers complain, and often rightly so, that the farm does not give them a good living. Especially has this been true since 1920 when the industrial depression has forced large numbers of farmers to operate at a loss. As one farmer expressed it, "About all we get out of farming is a living, and it is often a poor one at that." City people often imagine that the farmer lives in "milk and honey" because his cows, garden, and chickens contribute such a large part of the living. The time-cost of these items to various members of the family has been left out of the calculation. And this child and woman labor is no matter to be lightly disposed of. No city industry would be considered as on a paying basis when wages and salaries were so low as to necessitate the labor of the wife and family. Some of this family work in garden and poultry pen is no doubt to their own liking and serves the purpose of open air recreation. Yet, there can be little brought to answer the charge that this work is, to a considerable degree, a sign that agriculture is not upon a first-class economic basis. The assertion that the six or seven hundred dollars' worth of family living which the garden, chickens, and cows contribute is clear

gain to the farmer is unjust and fallacious. Certainly, these "side lines" give the farmer some advantage over the city dweller, as will be brought out later, but this advantage is not secured without a cost. The danger is that if the labor of the farmer's wife and children are necessary to make farming profitable, this institution will become fixed and act as an obstacle in securing such leisure for the farm wife as may be necessary for her social and cultural development. Through a careful study of the costs of living on farms in various areas, many misconceptions have been cleared up. Unfortunately, it is difficult to compare urban and rural figures, due to the fact that the classifications and methods were different at the time when the investigations were made.

Only comparative figures are of educative value. The following diagrams taken from several sources [9] give some idea of the comparative cost of living among farmers', working-men's, and professional men's families. Cost of living is not always coincident with standard of living, although the two tend to approximate. In making these comparisons, it should be noted that in 1919 living costs were 71 percent higher than in 1914. Since the farm-cost-of-living data were taken in 1920-1922 when living costs were 76 percent higher than in 1914, they are for practical purposes comparable with those taken by the Bureau of Labor in 1919. While the average size of the farm family varies from 3.7 to 4.9 in most areas, the average size of the 12,096 families in industrial centers was 5.7, which would put these at a still further disadvantage to farm families.

The only rational way to secure a basis for accurate comparison of different-sized families is to reduce them to a cost-consumption-unit basis. The United States Department of Agriculture uses this scale for food, as is indicated. Kirkpatrick found [10] that for clothing, men and women were equal, while a boy or girl over 16 years of age exceeded them by 50 percent. Below 6 years of age the index was .3.

	Food
Man at moderate work	1
Woman or girl 17 or over at moderate work	.8
Boy of 13-14	.8
Girl of 15-16	.8
Boy or girl less than 2	.3

[9] U. S. Department of Agriculture Preliminary Report, *Cost of Living in Farm Homes*, January and April, 1924; *U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, August, 1919, pp. 118-119; Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 38; *Bureau of Applied Economics*, No. 7, p. 30.

[10] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Thus it has been found that many farm homes with a family of 5 have less than 3 cost-consumption-units.

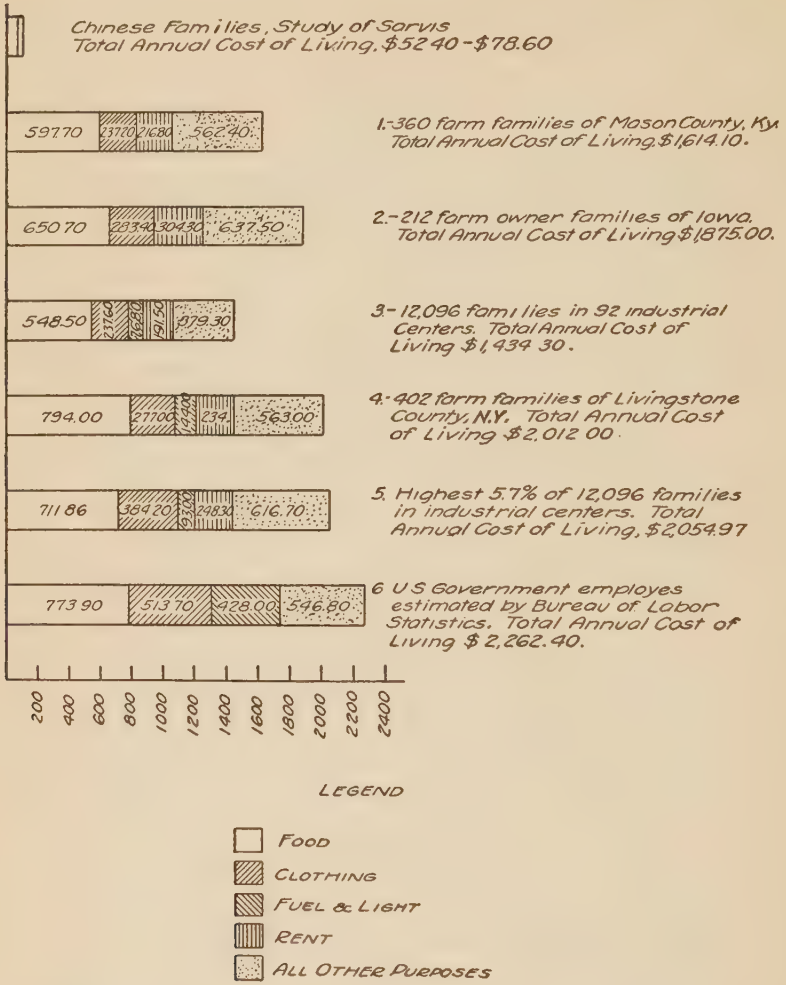

FIGURE 13

A Study of Comparative Standards of Living Among Typical Family Types

The figures previously cited indicate that farm families in the areas studied live better than the average industrial family in the city, and about as well as the upper 5.7 percent of industrial families. And it is quite

likely that few of the families of ministers, lawyers, doctors, and teachers, exceed the farmers' standard of life. Farmers "run" lower on expenditures for clothing and rent than the upper level of industrial families, but

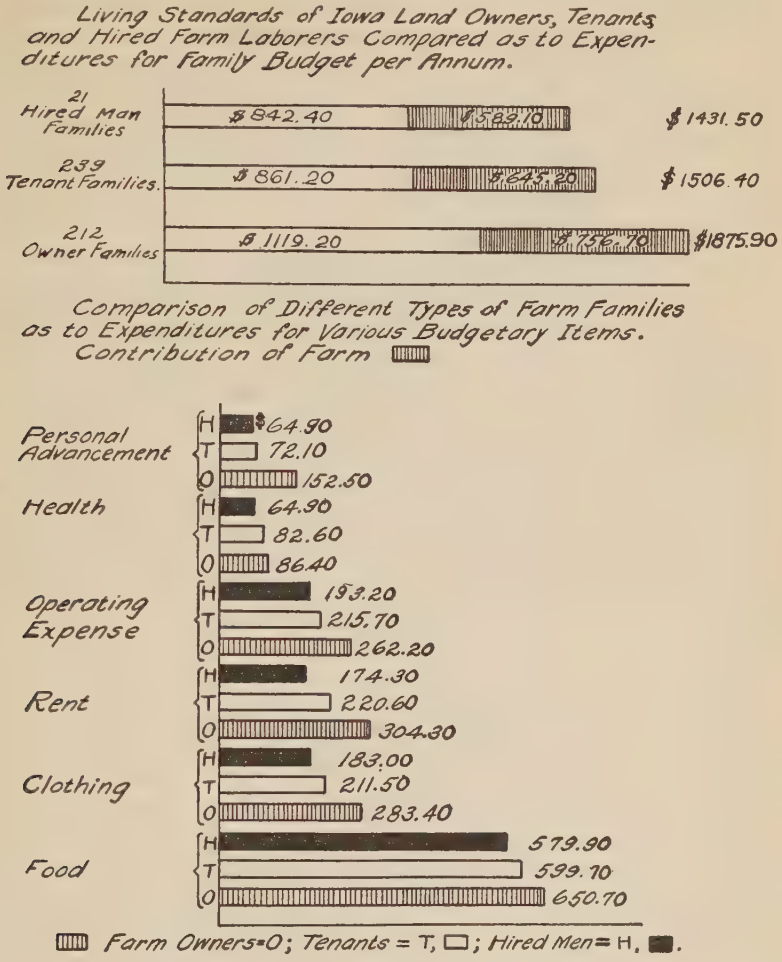

FIGURE 14

higher on food. However, from the standpoint of expenditures for personal advancement, education, etc., farm families compare favorably with upper strata industrial families. Thus it is evident that a large city with an industrial population would fall below the modal standard of life of the country districts in Northern United States, and that a small rural town

with a population of retired farmers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, ministers, and small business men would equal, if not slightly exceed, the rural standard. The large city has a very small percentage of families with large incomes, but a great mass of families that are close to the poverty line. The smaller urban center lacks both of these extremes.

It will be of interest in this connection to compare different occupational classes as to their expenditures for various items on the family budget as well as to their level of living. The survey of 472 farm families in Iowa[11] provides a basis for such a comparison; Figure 14 illustrates this study.

FACTORS IN THE FARMERS' STANDARD OF LIFE

Certain factors place the farmer at an advantage as compared with the industrial worker. It can be seen that the average industrial worker is about on a par with the farm hand as far as a standard of life goes. The tenant is somewhat above this industrial standard. The land-owning farmer, in most areas, is on a parity with the upper five or six percent of industrial workers and the professional classes. What are these factors which lift the farmers' level of living above that of the nation?

1. As a small capitalist the farmer belongs to the middle class. In many ways his economic status is almost identical to that of the small business man. In an era of high land-capitalization and machine-sized farms, farming means an outlay of considerable capital.

Most industrial workers have little income outside of their wages, since their holdings in property are small. They can depend very little on supplementing their labor income with a return from capital. On the other hand, the man who works the land owns some capital from which he derives an income. In a survey[12] of Blackhawk, Tama, and Grundy counties (1918), it was found that the total capital involved per farm was $63,926. Of 503 tenant farms taken in 1913, in these same counties, 54 percent had capital ranging from $4001-$9000 and over. Allowing 7 percent as a fair return on this capital, the Iowa tenant should add from $280 up to $630 to his labor income from the interest on his investment. There were 69,547 farms in Iowa that reported no mortgage indebtedness in 1920. On the basis of land value alone, these farms were worth in

[11] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Preliminary Report, *Cost of Living in Several Areas of Iowa,* April, 1924, p. 10, table 3.

[12] Munger, H. B., *Iowa Farm Management Surveys.* Iowa State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 198, pp. 363-373.

round figures $35,000. Even if these farms paid only a 4 percent return on the investment, we should have $1400 added to the farmers' labor income from this source. In many cities scarcely one-quarter of the people own the houses they live in. Surveys conducted by Dixon and Hawthorne [13] in 1910, 1913, and 1918 show that 100 farmers in Clinton County, Indiana, received an income of $1856 per farm, a labor income of $558, and a capital income of $1298. Sixty farmers of Dane County, Wisconsin, for the five years from 1913 to 1917, had a labor income of $408, and a return on invested capital of $885. Thus the farmer is, in many cases, a small capitalist as well as a manager and laborer. During periods of cheap labor, he makes a larger profit owing to decreased costs of production. During the depression of 1920-22, many farmers had negative labor incomes, yet lived on the basis of $2500 the year. It can be seen that the farmers' capital constitutes a standard-of-life reserve of no mean proportions, a sort of permanent guarantee that the family will not sink to the poverty line.

2. The contribution of the farm to the farmer's living. It is a fact well known to students of poverty that this state is infrequent in the country as compared with the city. Most married tenants and agricultural laborers are furnished by their employers with a truck patch, a house, access to wood lot, and pasture for cows. When the cash income stops, the poor tenant's or farm laborer's family can fall back upon their wood lot for fuel, their cow and chickens for food, and their furnished house for a habitation. But two weeks' stoppage of income puts the city laborer in a precarious condition, since he must pay cash for such items as house rent, groceries, fuel, and transportation. He may stave off poverty for a few weeks with store credit or union funds, but eventually his power to command the necessaries of life on his own resources gives out.

The research work of Kirkpatrick [14] in Livingston County, New York, shows that this contribution of the farm to the farmer's living standard constitutes no trifling amount. The average farm furnished $399 worth of food, $234 worth of rent, $59 worth of fuel, and $66 miscellaneous, making a total of $758. This amounts to the same result as adding this much to the farmer's cash income. In 1910 this amount represented the total salary of the bulk of our industrial workers. On thousands of

[13] Dixon and Hawthorne, *Farm Profits*. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 920, p. 5.
[14] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 38.

farms the cows and chickens pay the entire store bill for the family, including groceries and dry goods. It is not uncommon to find from two to three hundred quarts of canned fruit and vegetables in the farmer's cellar. Moreover, for the most part the quality of the meat, fruit, vegetables, eggs, etc., consumed is superior to that purchased.

3. Insulation against the power of fashion and fad. There are several reasons why the farm family is less subject to Dame Mode's tyranny and more immune to the lure of conspicuous consumption than the business or professional family of the city. In the first place, they are not endeavoring to stretch a $3000 income to the limit in order to gain an insecure social foothold among people who have a $10,000 income. The well-to-do farm family associates on the level with the renter and farm laborer and rarely has to compete with "quality" who ride to church in limousines and dress in broadcloth. Thus their pocketbook is not depleted by the mad race to "keep up a million dollar front." In the second place, the rural community judges the status of the farm family not by the fashionable clothing, or the pretentious table service, but by the big barns, neatly kept farmstead, large fields, and pedigreed livestock. On this account, money is saved by investment in improvements rather than spent on temporary adornments. Partly on this account the money realized from the sale of a carload of cattle goes into barns, fences, and silos rather than into modern homes. In the third place, there are fewer occasions in rural districts to wear expensive and stylish clothing. The very nature of farm industry means the wearing of inexpensive garments most of the time and emphasis upon the conservative, substantial garment which is more likely to wear out rather than "pass out." On account of such factors as these, we find a larger percentage of the professional man's budget, as compared to the farmer's, spent for clothing.

An occupation which brings the individual into constant contact with people, such as salesmanship, clerking, teaching, etc., and which makes personal appearance a part of one's stock-in-trade makes a heavier drain upon the pocketbook for clothing than a solitary outdoor occupation. When city children play, they must play upon the street, where they are in full view of the neighbors.

4. Less temptation and opportunity to spend for incidentals of a conspicuous nature. The city woman is in almost continual contact with bargain counters, ten cent stores, and tinsel-displaying windows, while the city man must pass by a number of tempting shop windows on his journey to and from his work. Many articles are purchased which could be done without and which add little to the substantial side of the living standard.

Rural people are only occasionally exposed to these buying temptations. Instead of spending their money in nickels and dimes, they tend to make investments in larger sums of a more permanent character.

5. It should be noted in this budgetary comparison that the farmer has a well-supplemented labor income in the larger number of cases, although it is generally obtained by either the labor of the farmer's family in the garden, or in the poultry yard, or by his own labor overtime. City families rarely have the opportunity of utilizing their spare time in contributing to the family income, unless child labor is practiced illegally, or the wife goes into the factory or store. The farms, on the other hand, present innumerable chores and miscellaneous tasks which offer the farm child opportunity for remunerative work without leaving home or disrupting family and domestic ties.

The survey [15] of Miss Ward indicates the extent to which the farmer's wife is a productive factor. "Seventy-five percent of rural home makers do a large part of their own sewing; 96 percent of rural women do their own washing and ironing." Miss Ward's figures indicate [16] that 25 percent of the American farm women in the Northern and Western states help with livestock, 24 percent help in the field for 6.7 weeks per year, 56 percent care for gardens, 36 percent help milk, 60 percent make butter, 81 percent care for a poultry flock averaging 90 chickens. Over half of the farm women, apparently, make a considerable contribution to the family living in the form of labor which adds cash-saving commodities to the annual budget. Such an amount of work cannot be done in the city without more or less disrupting the home life, since the scene of the wife's work is likely to be far removed from the home. Lundquist,[17] in his study of the "Farmer's Wife" contest contributors, quotes many interesting observations as to the contribution of farm women to the family income. " 'My eggs are my pin money'—'Last year $309 was realized from eggs alone'—'When we were married, five years ago, it was distinctly understood that I was to have all the income from the eggs if I took care of the chickens, and as a result, my husband hardly knows that there is such a thing as a grocery bill, or that he has a wife and baby to dress. We have between four and five hundred hens, and no boarders among them'." This information is offered by 790 farm women. With their chickens, their gardens, and their household duties, no one will question the variety

[15] Ward, F. E., *The Farm Woman's Problems.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Circular No. 148, pp. 9-10.

[16] *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

[17] Lundquist, C. A., University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension, Special Bulletin No. 71.

of work on the farm. Weld,[18] in his survey of a community in Red River Valley, found that 87.5 percent of the farm housewives made their own butter, 82 percent worked in gardens, 67 percent helped with milking and chores, and 25 percent helped in the fields.

Kirkpatrick[19] brings out several of these significant factors in his comparison of the farmers' standard of life with the standard of other classes: "The lower percentage spent for food in the farm home is due in part to the lower price charged for food furnished by the farm. . . . The percentage spent for rent in the Livingston County families, as compared with those for other groups in the United States, is undoubtedly low, owing to the tendency toward undervaluation of farm houses in this country. The percentage for clothing may be lower than that for four other most recent studies, except for Groton, owing to the fact that on the farm working clothes are worn more and dress clothes are made to last longer. The higher percentage spent for fuel and light in the Livingston County area may be due to the relatively rapid increase in the price of coal and wood within recent years."

In this study of the farmer's budget and cost of living, we have noticed that it represents essentially a middle-class type. Few sink near to the poverty line and few soar into the region of luxurious consumption. However, the surpassing of city industrial families is not exactly a compliment for the farmer. These $1400 or $1500 budgets upon which these families live are at least $500 below a decent standard of life and keep them upon the brink of poverty. The farm standard, varying around the $1500 or $1700 mark in good farming sections, and which is partly gained by family labor, is also below a good living standard. When our standard-of-life studies include some of our poorer agricultural sections, we shall see a close approach to poverty.

THE FARMER'S HOME AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The farmer's home is larger and has room for more occupants than the average city home. A small percent of the homes of the business and professional classes may rank above the farmer's home in furnishing equipment and value, but the bulk of the homes of clerks, day laborers, and factory workers will rank below it. In New York City[20] alone, over half of the people live in multiple dwellings. There were at one time over

[18] Weld, L. D., *Social and Economic Survey of a Community in the Red River Valley*. University of Minnesota, Current Problems, No. 4, p. 27.
[19] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 40.
[20] *Literary Digest*, November 3, 1923, p. 40.

10,000 hopeless, dumbbell-type tenements; 100,000 rooms were dark and unventilated; 80,000 buildings containing nearly 3,000,000 people were constructed with wooden stairs, and were a standing menace. Over a million people were without proper privacy and sanitary conveniences. Kirkpatrick's surveys [21] show that in Livingston County, N. Y., the average number of rooms per house was 8.8, 1.9 per capita. The average value of the home was $2341. Rankin,[22] in his Nebraska surveys, found 6 rooms typical for a tenant's home and 7 rooms for a landowner's home. The average value of the home was $1500 in two Southwestern areas as

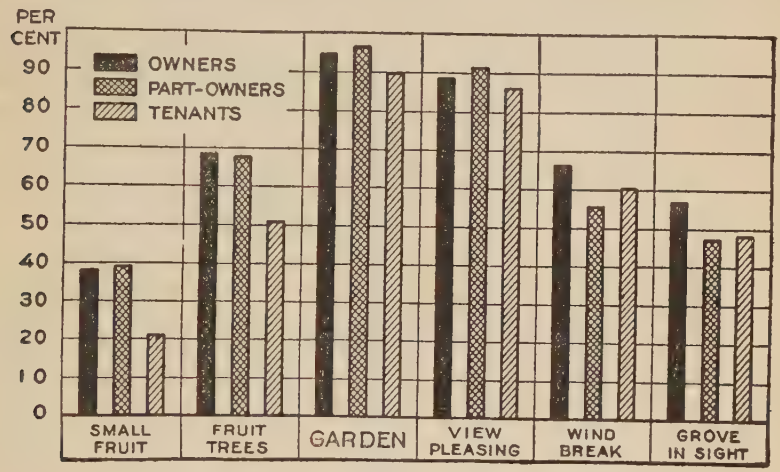

FIGURE 15

Outer Environment of Rural Homes in Nebraska

compared with $2067 in the Eastern part of the state. In one area the houses averaged $2500 in value; 3.2 bedrooms were occupied by every four and one-half persons; 6.4 rooms existed for every 4.6 persons. Only one house out of 16 was of the typical tenement size with 3 rooms or less.

The extent to which the farmer surrounds his farm with shrubbery, trees, and landscaping devices is indicated by Figure 15 taken from Rankin.[23]

CONVENIENCES AND EQUIPMENT IN THE FARM HOME

One of the most advertised drawbacks to farm life has been the so-called "lack of modern conveniences." A majority of farm women who

[21] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.

[22] Rankin, J. O., *Nebraska Farm Homes*, Nebraska University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 191, pp. 10-16.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

reply to questionnaires mention the inconvenience of doing work in the farm home. Long hours, hot kitchens, hand washers, old-fashioned brooms, and big kitchens have often contributed to fatigue and social indifference. Lack of equipment and conveniences in the home has been advanced as one of the main reasons for young people, especially daughters, deserting the farm. But with education and enlightenment we should expect some energy and thought to be directed to the improvement of living conditions. Many city people would be surprised at the rapid development of conveniences in farm homes during the last five years. Fifteen years ago, hardly 10 percent of the homes could be classed as modern in any way. Today, in Iowa and similar states,[24] from half to three-quarters of the farm homes have power washers, nine-tenths have automobiles, and from one-fourth to three-fifths have central heating systems.

HOME ENVIRONMENT[25] IN NEW YORK AREAS

Homes having	Livingston County, New York (402 farm homes)			
	Owner (295)		Tenant (107)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Running water	42	14.2	10	9.3
Bathroom	48	16.3	13	12.1
Indoor toilet	47	15.9	18	16.8
Electric lights	27	9.2	11	10.3
*Gas lights	55	18.6	8	7.5
Power washer	50	16.9	19	17.8
Electric or gas iron	39	13.2	14	13.1
†Vacuum cleaner	74	25.1	27	25.2
Heating system	123	41.7	30	28.0
Telephone	199	67.5	73	68.2
Piano	166	56.3	50	46.7
Automobile	228	77.3	76	71.0
Average of:				
Rooms per house	8.9		8.5	
Books in library	72.8		64.4	
Daily papers	1.0		1.0	
Farm journals	2.4		2.2	

* Includes acetylene gas.
† Includes hand-pump but not sweeper vacuum.

Further light is thrown upon the state of the rural home with respect to the inner environment, by the Nebraska surveys,[26] which show that one-

[24] Kirkpatrick's surveys indicate the prevalence of home conveniences in Rural New York.
[25] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[26] Rankin, J. O., *op. cit.*, p. 42.

eighth of the farm homes in the area surveyed were modern in three respects.

More recent surveys in Iowa [27] bring out the following conditions as to conveniences and equipment in the farm home.

Type of Convenience	Percent of Owner Families having such Conveniences	Percent of Tenant Families having such Conveniences
Central heating system	41.	13.
Central lighting system	40.1	13.8
Running water, hot and cold	26.5	9.2
Bathroom	27.	12.2
Indoor toilet	25.2	6.3
Sewer system	15.1	3.9
Power Washing Machine	71.6	65.4
Power Vacuum Cleaner	8.5	.8
Fireless or pressure cooker	2.8	.8
Automobile	92.9	89.1
Phonograph	50.5	35.6
Camera	45.3	38.9

An interesting comparison of village and country in these respects is given by Weld [28] in his rural studies in the Red River Valley.

	Percent of All Families Visited	
	In Village	In Country
Hot water, or hot air heating plant	16	3
Electric lights	60	0
Electric flat irons	45	0
Vacuum cleaners	8	0
Running water in the house	55	2
Telephone	58	67
Bathroom in the house	18	1.5
Washing machines	50	61
Screened porches	15	3.5
Maid for housework	18	26

[27] Surveys made of 212 owner families and 239 tenant families in 4 areas. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Preliminary Report, *Cost of Living in Several Areas of Iowa*, pp. 18-23.

[28] Weld, L. D., *op. cit.*, p. 85.

In making this evaluation of the farmers' level of life, we have noticed certain facts, conditions, and tendencies. His house tends to be more roomy than the average city house, but lacking in beautification and conveniences. In food, transportation, education, religion, personal advancement, the farmers' budget is more liberal than the budget of the industrial worker, but in labor-saving appliances and conveniences in the home, the farmer is only slightly superior to the laborer. Rankin estimates that only about two percent of the Nebraska homes are modern in the way of heating, water supply, and lighting. The very best sections will not exceed 10-12 percent of well-equipped modern homes. In the matter of shrubbery, lawns, and landscape architecture, few farm homes show much development as yet. The lawns and yards are large, but poorly kept. The city man mows his miniature lawn for exercise. The farmer has a multitude of chores for exercise if he finds his work in the field insufficient. City homes being short on space and trees, their few shrubs can have more meticulous attention.

The lack of conveniences in the farm home as compared with the village or city home is due to several factors. The farmer must generally get his water from a well, while the city man gets his from the waterworks. Generally, it is impossible for the city man to get safe and sanitary water otherwise than by the internal piping system. Sewage mains run by many homes, while sanitary regulations make it necessary to connect up. Bathrooms are greatly facilitated by a sewer connection and a piped-in water system. Electric lights, vacuum cleaners, electric washers, depend on easy access to electricity. The country home has had to install an expensive individual power plant in the basement, costly and troublesome to maintain, or else pay from $300 to $1000 to connect up to a high tension line, where transformers were involved. The city home can connect up by merely wiring the house, and can buy electricity for $2 to $5 per month, while the rural cost may run from $10 to $15 per month. Such things as screened porches, telephones, automobiles, involving a more equal competitive plane, run higher in the country in many cases, than in the larger city. The city man's investment is often in his home, while the farmer's investment is in his farm. Just as the farmer must strive to maintain his farm against undue depreciation, the city man must attempt to keep up his home against wear. To neglect the lawn, the shrubbery, the paint, or the porches, would menace the whole investment of the city man, and detract from its possible sale or rental value. The farm home represents a very small fraction of the farmer's investment, compared to the farm itself. From the Minnesota studies, it seems evident that village

homes are better equipped than open country homes. This does not mean, however, that the average homes in the larger cities are better supplied with conveniences. The population of rural villages comprises few families which are comparable to city industrial or working families.

The rural village is made up partly of retired farmers—who having made sufficient money to retire, can afford the better class of home—of business men, lawyers, doctors, ministers, school superintendents, and others who rank in the professional rather than the industrial class. They represent a select group not only motivated by higher living ideals but able to afford modern equipment. The village has also the same advantage as the city in having water and electricity supplied on a collective basis. Among the 182 heads of village families taken in this survey,[29] there were 21 retired farmers, 21 merchants, 15 professional men, 6 real estate men, 11 contractors and carpenters, 4 bankers, 3 manufacturers, 10 government servants, 5 active farmers, 2 barbers, 2 butchers, and 12 laborers.

The farmer lives much better than his environs would indicate. His social, religious, and cultural standards are also higher than his physical surroundings would imply. Nor is his lack of electric appliances, bathrooms, and heating facilities so difficult to remedy as cultural and social deficiencies. The windmill generator, which harnesses the breeze to furnish an everlasting and perpetual source of electricity to the farm, may become within a decade as general as windmill pumps. After the appearance of the automobile on the farm in 1910, the spread of motor transport was so rapid that now about 90 percent of the farmers in Iowa have these conveniences.

The study of the plane of physical living and the home development of rural people gives us only indirect and circumstantial evidence as to their socialization. We have noticed how other factors besides those of psychic or cultural standards exert an influence on the introduction of electric lights, running water, and indoor bathrooms, into the rural home. Accessibility to a cheap supply of water, or to electricity from a central plant, may be more powerful as motivating factors than the desire to raise the cultural level.

However, in a broad general way, such objective things as electric lights and furnaces, denote a rise above the peasant mind and an advance in the socialization stage. The peasant level of appreciation is too low to see the need of anything above meager, rudimentary equipment. When rural China or India introduces bathrooms, electric lights, and power washers, we shall know that scientific agriculture, higher valuation of women, larger

[29] Weld, L. D., *op. cit.*, p. 79.

farms, educated farmers, and more socialized communities have appeared. In short, the rougher levels of socialization appear in the more objective, physical phases of the family budget and home environs. The finer classifications of communities and families into socialization levels, must finally be developed by a more direct study and measurement of socialization, in terms of the farmers' educational, recreational, social, and religious activities.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by a standard of living? Show its relations to rural welfare. Despite the enormous rise of living standards effected by inventions, why will there always be poverty? What is psychic poverty? Does money remedy psychic poverty? Can you cite examples of "wealthy" farmers and business men who are "poor"?
2. Show how the standard of living regulates population, wages, and prices. Does the price of corn fix the standard of living or the standard of living the price of corn?
3. Contrast the acre-economy of China or Denmark with the man-economy of Iowa. Relate intensive agriculture, high birth rates, high death rates, machine farming, tenancy, size of farms, immigration, movement to cities, etc., to the standard of life. Is Iowa agriculture more efficient than Danish agriculture? Why? What are some of the dangers of overpopulation? How may population be adjusted to resources? Are we overpopulated? Is it possible to raise the standard of life of all industrial classes at once? Does an increase in wages necessarily mean a rise in the standard of living? Relate education and intelligence to living standards.
4. What is an economic-sized farm? What factors determine it? Does the economic-sized farm always give large yields of grain?
5. Compare the farmers' standard of living to that of workers in industrial centers. How do you account for the low living standard in China? The high standard of living in the corn belt? Where do farmers make heavy expenditures? Industrial workers? Why? Show how custom tends to create many standards of living.
6. Discuss the various factors that influence the farmers' standard of living.
7. Show how a standard of living begins with the physical and ends with the social.
8. What influence does race have on the standard of living? Custom? Climate? Religion? Tradition? Fashion? Many oriental peoples

sit on the floor. Would they consider that the absence of chairs lowered the living standard? Why do fad and fashion exert a less powerful influence on the cost of living in rural than in urban America?

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CHAPTER VI

SOCIALIZATION IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE SOCIAL-CONTACT METHOD TO THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIALIZATION

This method of measuring community socialization was outlined in a previous chapter. The social contact, or more accurately, the social exposure, is a rough unit for converting community, institutional, and individual experience into a common quantitative fund. It bears the same relation to flow of social experience as cubic feet bear to a flow of water. The cubic-feet-per-second unit is used to compute the discharge of a stream of water; the social-exposure test is used to compute the flow of social experience into a community through its organizations and institutions.

This method was used in six Western Iowa communities not only to develop a method but also to discover possible socialization factors.

To determine quantitatively the size of the socialization stream which annually flows through a rural community, it is convenient to determine the number and type of group events to which audiences are exposed. In some communities the character of exposure-events indicates activity. The large number of exposure-events of the B and C type entering through pool halls, tent shows, street carnivals, and public sales, indicates that little time and energy has been spent organizing boys' and girls' clubs, lyceums, literary societies, or community programs.

This social-contact unit can, with practically no modification, be applied to testing the sociological output of organizations engaged in socialization. Efficient and economical organizations, giving a large number of first-class social exposures for a dollar, will come to light, while inefficient organizations, burdened with red tape and dead memberships, will appear. It is not always the cheapest organization that is the most economical for socialization. Several criteria should be utilized in evaluating such an organization, viz.:

1. The ability of an organization to furnish, through its leaders and programs, a certain number of first-class and second-class events. This is

something which exists independently of prestige, traditional prerogatives, or numbers of members.

2. The ability of the organization to advertise its events, and to draw appreciative audiences.

3. The ability of the leadership staff to develop talent.

While organizations and communities are measured by the opportunities for social exposures they provide, the individual is measured sociologically as a person who participates in social events, and who exposes himself for a certain length of time to A and B situations. The number of exposures of individuals runs only into the hundreds. Mark, too, that thousands of social exposures occur annually in rural communities quite outside of groups. Radios, phonographs, books, and visits with relatives are means of securing numberless social exposures without contacting in a face to face way with organized groups or audiences.

In the final analysis it is the individual, not the mechanism, that counts. In the socially starved community with a low degree of social organization, we shall find an occasional life rich in first-class mental exposures. It may even be possible for a poorly organized community to have a population socialized above the average through indirect means. After all, the individual is the goal of socialization, while the community and the organization are but the instrumentalities.

To determine the socialization of the individual with the social-contact method, we make up an annual calendar of his typical activities and the time allotted to them. Thus he will be found to have, let us say, 80 one-hour exposures to lectures; 50 to educational books; 30 to music, etc. These exposures will belong to the first, second, and third types; and their proportion will show how well he is balancing his sociological ration. At the same time a quantitative notion will be gained of the span and breadth of his psychic life.

To dissipate illusions, let me emphasize at this point that this test is no better than the accuracy and investigational power of the observer. Its value depends upon an accurate tabulation and recording of the program-types and attendances at community events. Within a large community some events are bound to escape the scrutiny of the keenest observer. Others will thrust themselves into the foreground because they are spectacular.

The local resident has a distinct advantage in that he can personally attend and evaluate different community events, while he makes an attendance count. Such institutions as pool halls, which are loath to disclose their attendance records, can be investigated more carefully by the resident.

Furthermore, the local resident has the confidence of the community to such an extent that he can uncover information which would remain hidden from the visiting investigator.

In its present state of development, this method can roughly measure the quantitative aspect of the socialization process which takes place continually in the lives of communities, organizations, and individuals. The first surveys which use this or similar methods will but establish method and posit new socialization problems. Such surveys will, however, call attention to this highly important phase of human existence. Only through some sort of quantitative study can we form a concept of the immensity of this socialization process, which, like the invisible rush of mighty electric waves through the ether, courses through the life of a rural group to mold and form its personality. In its wake it carries civilization, culture, or degeneration. By its touch it makes people human beings or beasts. Through it we get a glimpse of the production of souls and the unseen tragedies of unfulfilled life. How can we call the attention of a community to the fact that the greatest process in their midst is not the mining of soil elements through the roots of plants or the shipping out of train loads of corn and hogs, but the creation of a million human exposures through the instrumentality of a hundred agencies of socialization? How soon can we shift the eyes of the public to this great task of the twentieth century? How can we organize society for efficient socialization? How can we stimulate competition in the production of social contacts between communities, organizations, and individuals? How can we give a human life a quantitative valuation in the social and spiritual realm, as well as in the economic and financial realm?

SOCIAL CONTACT PRODUCTION IN RURAL COMMUNITIES[1]

The first aspect of this type of community analysis is to determine the total annual social contacts or person-hour exposures through group events in various communities. Figure 16 shows the result of a social-contact study of six Western Iowa communities.

The totals are not accurate beyond thousands, and hence are not carried out. More accurate attendance and event counts would make it possible to be accurate to hundreds in the case of small communities. However, the relative quantity of socialization is shown. It should be noted that in some cases smaller communities have more social contacts

[1] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities.* Chap. VII, pp. 4-12. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

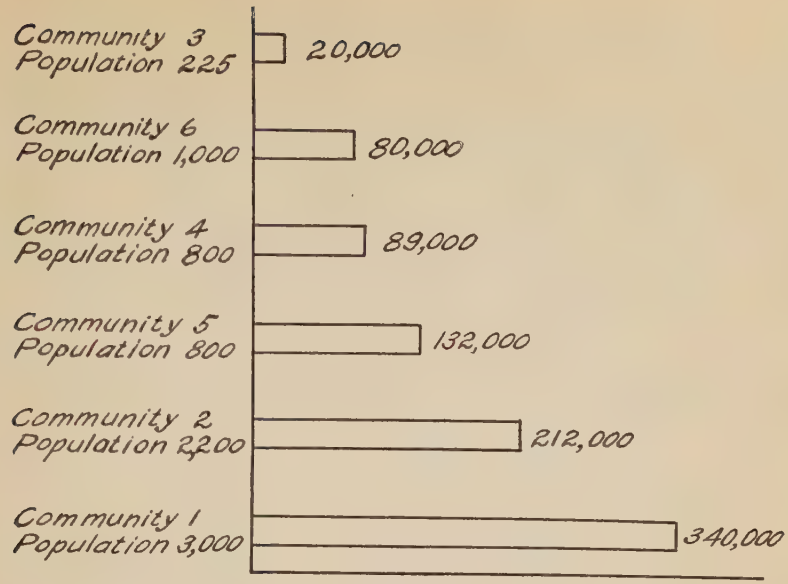

FIGURE 16

Social Contact Production Through Group Events in Western Iowa Communities

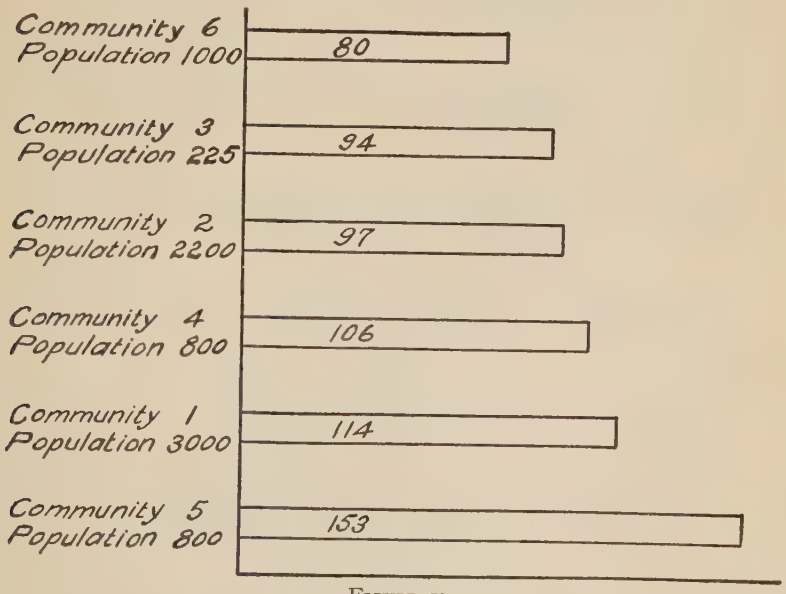

FIGURE 17

Per Capita Production of Social Contacts in Western Iowa Communities Determined by dividing the total annual social contacts by the population of the Community

in a year than the larger. Thus, community number 5, with 800 people (the estimated number in the trade territory added to the population of the town) develops more contacts than community number 6 with 1000 people. To make communities comparable, we should use the "contacts per capita" concept. Figure 17 makes this comparison.

The *quality* of social contacts as well as the *quantity* should be given consideration. The next figure indicates the distribution of social con-

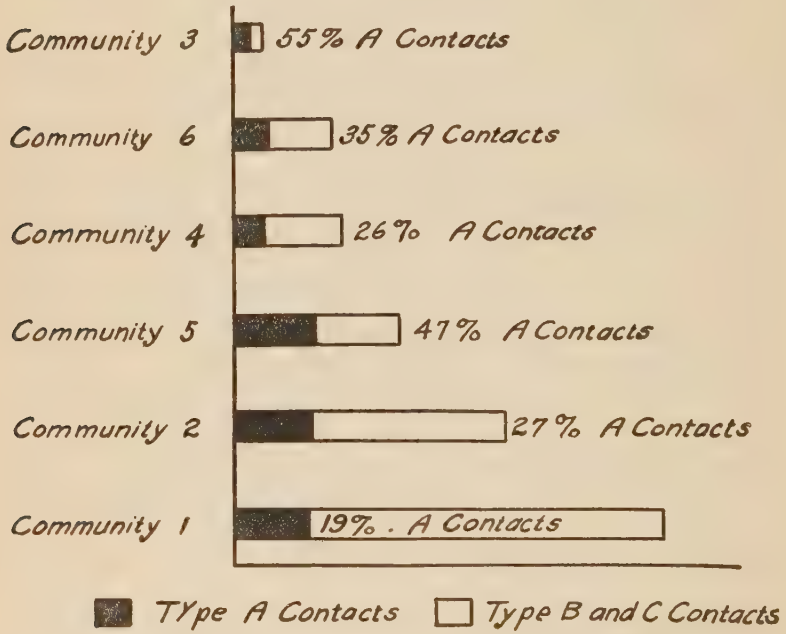

FIGURE 18

Variation of Six Western Iowa Communities in the Quality of Their Social Contacts

tacts between the A, B, and C types, in six Western Iowa communities. The A type contacts are those received at exposure events, rich in educational, inspirational, and cultural elements. In many cases they tend to beget the "we feeling" and inspire the feeling of fellowship. They are supposedly contacts which are more stimulating to personality expansion than those of the B and C types. The above chart compares six rural communities [2] with respect to the quality of their social contacts.

[2] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

It should be noted that in community number 3, a hamlet community, farmers take many of their B and C type contacts in larger communities, and, hence, they count at those places. Thus, the seeming advantage of community number 3 is apparent rather than real. It can be said, however, that the larger town will tend to reveal more second and third class contacts, since the larger place attracts pool halls, tent shows, "movies," festivals, athletic events, etc., which provide few class A contacts. Without such keen competition on the part of the commercialized forms of amusement, the smaller community can develop such institutions as churches, lyceums, debating societies, boys' and girls' corn and calf clubs, and lodges, which bring in a comparatively large number of first-class contacts. In the larger city commercialized forms of entertainment and recreation predominate in a still greater degree. In communities of from 800 to 2500, the percentage of class A contacts seems to vary little. Community number 5 represents a rare exception, since it has almost double the proportion of A type contacts found in other communities of its size. A survey of this community indicated that there had been much intensive social engineering and organizational work carried on by dynamic leaders. Fully 3000 social contacts of the A type were brought in through the organization of a Women's Civic Improvement Club. This work was missing in the other communities of similar type. Approximately, 12,500 social exposures were made through a high-class motion picture house which had the moral support of the Community Association. These counted mostly as A type contacts, while in other communities they could not so qualify. Public lectures on educational subjects brought in 2500 class A contacts.

The table shown on page 120 shows how community number 5 secured its advantage.

Activities of this organization type indicate the ability of a community to mobilize leaders, talent, and audiences to create a large number of type A exposure-events and to develop public interest in them. Social contact production bears almost a direct relation to the amount of social engineering work carried out in a systematic, sociological manner. In a later chapter we shall discuss, more specifically, how these various communities organized themselves, and particularly how the type of community organization influenced their social efficiency.

SOCIALIZING POWER OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Certain organizations and activities create the socializing events within a rural community. Some contribute much towards the social-contact

Name of Institution Furnishing Constructive Social Contacts	Number of Each Kind of Social Contact by Communities		
	Community No. 4 Population 800	Community No. 5 Population 800	Community No. 6 Population 1,000
Entertainments, Schools Literary Societies	1,000	900	1,500
Play, Dramas, and Cantatas	300	1,500	600
Basket Ball, High School	500	750	1,600
Baseball	1,000	1,800	
Football	1,500		400
Community Meetings		1,200	600
Sewing Club		750	
Canning Club		350	
Garden Club		2,600	
Social Meetings of Farmers' Organizations with Program	500	2,500	500
Women's Civic Improvement Club		3,000	
Women's Study Club			460
Parent-Teachers' Association	750		
School or Town Orchestra		1,000	200
School or Town Band		2,500	2,500
Glee Clubs	200	1,000	200
Community, School Exhibits		5,000	
High-Class Movies (Good Supervision)	3,500	12,500	5,000
Chautauquas	900	2,000	1,200
Lyceums	450	600	580
Public Lectures on Educational Subjects	500	2,500	750
Church Services			
Boys' Clubs		1,000	300
Girls' Clubs		1,000	200
Church and Religious Work	9,500	35,000	13,200
Library Reading	3,000	4,000	1,800
Lodge Work	7,500	4,800	3,000
4 P. C. E. Societies	240	2,500	600
TOTAL CONSTRUCTIVE CONTACTS	31,340	90,750	35,110
TOTAL ACCORDING TO LIMITS OF ACCURACY	31,000	91,000	35,000

product, and some contribute little. Some contribute A type contacts, and some contribute mostly B type contacts. Some organizations are efficient in connecting trained talent with audiences, while others, although well financed, are comparatively inefficient. Thus, we might say that each organization, like each community, has so much potential sociological energy. Now organizations have their peculiar structure, traditions, programs, and methods of using this social energy in developing social contacts. But many of these institutions are so fortified with prestige and traditions that they set themselves above the test of social efficiency, and pose as vested interests with a prior claim upon people's

time and money. Yet, in the long run, despite all appeal to infallible authority to prove superiority, organizations will have to survive upon the basis of efficiency in rendering psychic services and producing social utilities.

Through what avenues and channels does the social life of the community flow? To what type of situations do communities expose themselves? A community with 500 adult individuals (assuming that each individual has, on the average, 1000 hours of leisure time each year—our study shows 1300) has 500,000 hours of time to invest in social contacts. What type and what number of social exposures do its members get with this leisure time? This is a problem which will become more compelling as machine industry adds progressively to the leisure-time fund. Is it possible to educate organizations to utilize the 500,000 hours for, let us say, 250,000 first-class social contacts? Communities and organizations, like individuals, have a pressing avocational problem in these days. Many communities plead that they have no time for Chautauquas, Parent-Teachers' meetings, Farm Bureau work, etc. Very likely they waste ten times the hours necessary for these constructive activities which would add so materially to their type A contacts.

Every organization or activity that bids for people's time and money should render an efficient social service. Is it doing so? Can we in some way visualize the canalization of the annual social-energy fund of a community through various activities and institutions? Figure 19 (p. 122), using statistics gathered in the Western Iowa survey,[3] shows the origin or source of social contacts in six Western Iowa communities, during a year.

It is quite apparent that enough time is used in securing B and C type contacts to develop three or even ten times the number of A type contacts that are actually developed. The need of organized and planned activities is demonstrated. Without these people spend their time in idle gossip to eat cheese and crackers. There seems to be a taboo on the types of activities that are intellectually stimulating, and a leaning toward those that satiate the emotions and physical senses. Without home-made entertainment people seek the commercialized types.

To a large extent, then, people expose themselves to B and C type events, not because they are incapable of enjoying the A type, but because this type is not supplied in abundance. Community life can be very educational provided sufficient social control is extended over it. The school develops a large number of first-class social contacts, amounting to

[3] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

2,325,000 in the six communities. Because the school exercises a great deal of control over the type of social exposures, it is able to contribute

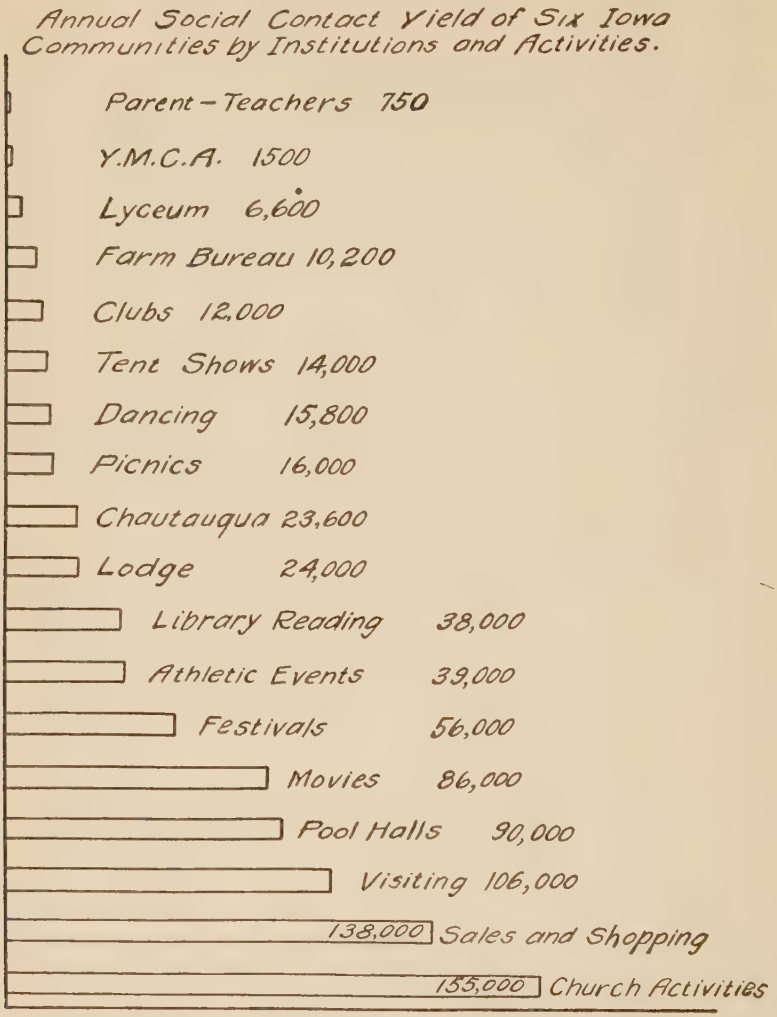

FIGURE 19

Annual Social Contact Yield of Six Western Iowa Communities Through Various Events, Activities, and Institutions

two-thirds of the total social contact production of the community. On account of its discipline and firmly rooted organization, the church ranks high as a social-contact producer wherever it has humanized its program.

THE ECONOMY OF SOCIAL-CONTACT PRODUCTION

Some farmers produce corn for forty cents per bushel, while others produce it for a dollar per bushel. Dollar corn, however, is no better than forty-cent corn. Likewise, some communities produce constructive social contacts at one-half or one-third the cost of other communities. This is due, partly to the efficiency of their plan of community organization, and partly to the efficiency of individual organizations. In this day we hear much about consolidated schools, community centers, and federated churches. If these displace other socializing institutions, it will be upon the basis of their greater economy in furnishing social contacts of a constructive nature. If one type of community organization eliminates another by competition, it will be because the former is more efficient and economical. Economy of time and effort, not dollar economy, is one of the ultimate tests of community engineering. However, for the community that spends more money for socializing agencies another form of organization may be the most economical. The following diagram compares three communities, chosen from the study in Western Iowa in 1919 and 1920, with respect to their economy in the production of social contacts.

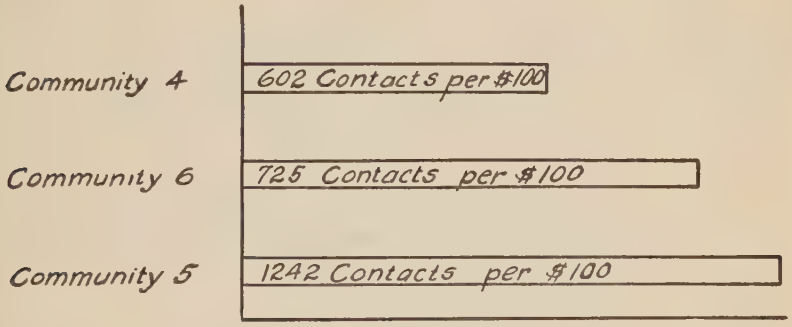

FIGURE 20

Constructive Social Contacts per $100 Expended for the Community Activity Budget in Three Iowa Communities

Several factors, which will be more fully discussed in later chapters, influence the economy with which social contacts are produced. Among the foremost factors is the ability to decrease overhead expense and to reduce organizational machinery to a simple form. Communities which consolidate duplicating agencies economize. It is economical to have a well-paid, efficient minister to speak to 200 people instead of three in-

efficient ministers to talk to 100 people, divided into three congregations. It is economy to expose 200 people to community programs rather than 50 to "clique" programs. After the initial expense of maintaining a building and developing talent-programs is met, it is economy to expose the largest number of people possible to such activities.

SOCIALIZATION OF INDIVIDUAL IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

The efficiency of a community as a socializing machine is not always an indicator of the social nutrition of its members. Thanks to the automobile, an individual can secure stimulating social contacts outside of his inert community. Furthermore, many individuals secure a social income through radios, books, and phonographs. Thus, a true check of rural socialization should include a study of the social contacts the individual makes by himself. With the generous assistance of his students, the writer conducted an investigation of the social contacts of high school children located in Boone, Story, and Polk counties, in Iowa. The group included 48 city children, 44 town children, and 87 country children. As was noted in chapter four, where certain results of this study were given, the city children comprised a selective group, for in most city high schools the children are likely to come from families with a comparatively high economic and social status. Thus, few children from the homes of unskilled laborers are found in the urban high school, although this class forms a large proportion of the city population. On this account, the urban group, surrounded with the environment of a very efficient and intensely specialized high school staff and stimulated with a large variety of extra-curricular activities, "set up" a relatively high standard against which to measure town and country children. The table on page 125 compares the three groups with reference to their impressional contacts.

This limited study indicates that the gap between the country child and the select and favored city child is not as great as we would expect. It would seem that the socialization opportunities in the corn-belt community are approaching those of the city community. Improved communication through the radio and automobile, is playing no insignificant part in securing such opportunities for the rural child; for an inspection of the questionnaires showed that the country boy and girl attended dozens—and in some cases hundreds—of events, far beyond the confines of their local community. The end of socialization mechanisms is the culturalization of individuals. The Western Iowa survey took records of 85 individuals

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONTACTS OF CITY, TOWN, AND COUNTRY HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN LOCATED IN CENTRAL IOWA COUNTIES

Type of Social Contact	Number * of such events attended annually by:		
	City Children	Town Children	Country Children
Religious events such as church services, revivals, etc.	104	73	71
Educational events such as lyceums, debates, lectures, chautauquas, etc.	180	161	134
Musical events such as concerts, operas, musical recitals, etc.	175	127	117
Social events such as picnics, dances, parties, visits, etc....	105	86	80
Recreational or sport events such as ball games, wrestling matches, outings, etc...	110	84	69
Total events of all types attended	674	531	471

* It should be noted that in making the count some events are of a composite nature contributing religion, music, and instruction, and are thus counted under several classifications.

selected from typical occupational classes. The following diagram [4] shows the total number of annual social contacts of the various population classes in the area studied. These contacts are tabulated upon a basis of one-hour exposures to different socializing events.

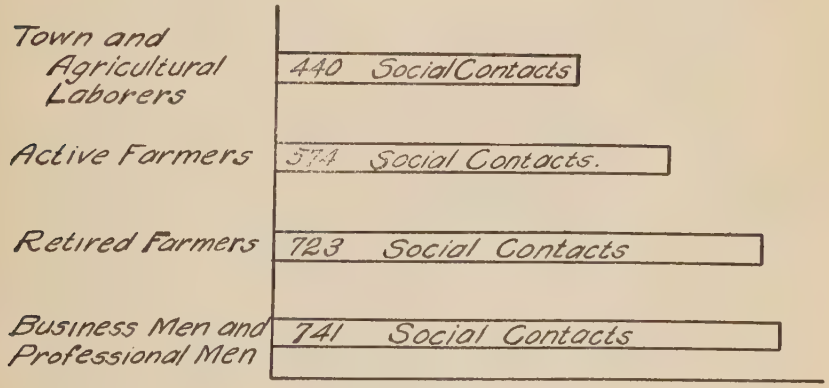

FIGURE 21

Rural Occupational Classes Compared as to Annual Number of Social Contacts

[4] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. IX, pp. 18-20.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL CONTACTS OF IOWA FARMERS

The following figures show in what ways the farmer secures his social-contact income. There are a few miscellaneous activities difficult to classify, but they are rather insignificant in furnishing social contacts.

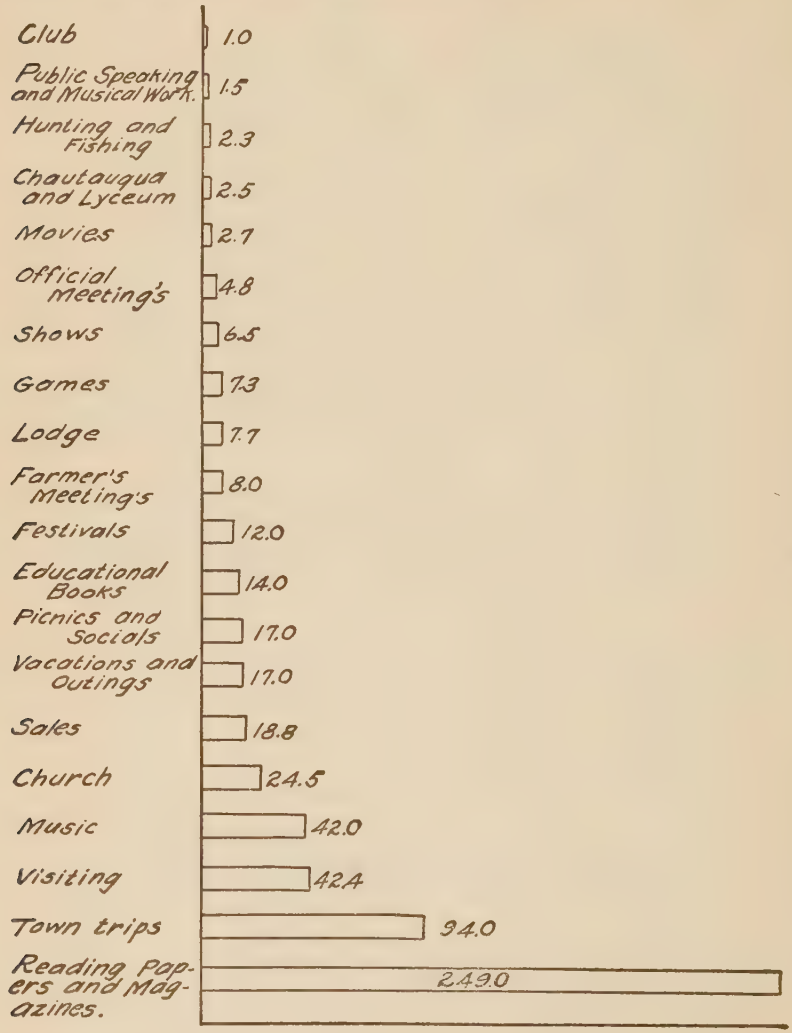

FIGURE 22

Comparative Social Contact Contributions of Various Rural Social Agencies to the Farmer's Social Nutrition

On account of the limited number of cases, there is likely to be considerable variation. However, it is quite apparent that there is a paucity of the activities which have superior culturizing and socializing power. The need of developing more interest in educational books, games, public speaking work, musical work, and club work is quite apparent.

Business and professional men naturally have superior opportunities for meeting people in the course of their business. On the other hand,

Non-social hours

Hours used for Type B or C contacts

Hours used for Type A contacts

FIGURE 23

How Farmers Utilize 1300 Hours of Annual Leisure Time

farmers are free to attend more group events than business and professional men. With the same social advantages the farmer would exceed or equal the business man in social contacts. With the advent of the radio and automobile, the difference in social contacts is disappearing. At present the upper one-tenth of farmers surpasses the town business man in social exposures.

The above figure[5] indicates the proportion of leisure time used to obtain a gross, social-contact income and also a fund of type A contacts. It reveals relative inefficiency in the use of spare time, and shows the need of organizing community life to utilize leisure.

[5] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII, pp. 33-34.

Too much time used in stimulating contacts would result in nervous exhaustion; on the other hand, want of stimulating contacts results in mental stagnation. College students receive from two to three thousand social contacts within nine months without serious detriment. Social progress in the future will hinge largely on the ability of society to train individuals in investing their ever-increasing, leisure-time fund so as to secure vitalizing social contacts.

THE VARIATION OF INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIAL INCOME

The following diagram shows the variation in the annual number of social contacts of 49 typical farmers:

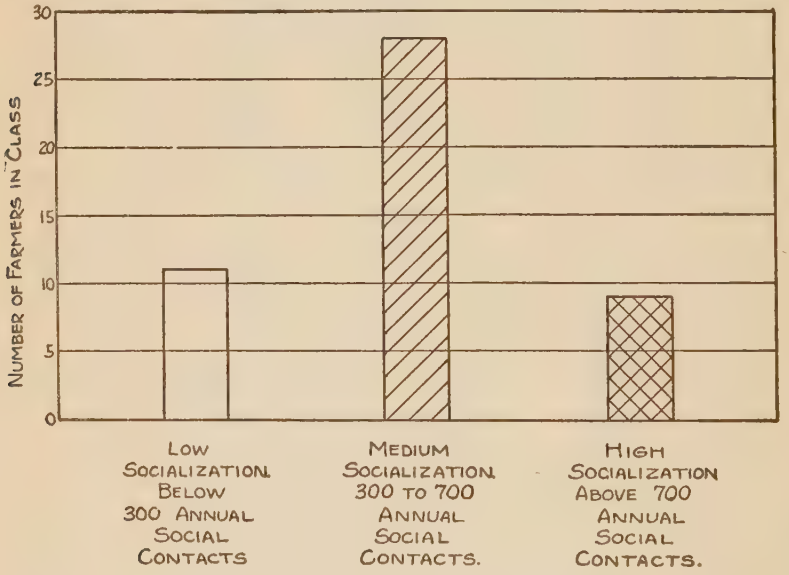

FIGURE 24

Socialization of a Random Group of Iowa Farmers

IS THE RURAL COMMUNITY SOCIALLY EFFICIENT?

Such limited and imperfect data, as have been gathered within one rural county, indicate that other surveys of a similar character would reveal much inefficiency in the task of socialization. A large percentage of leisure time is wasted by individuals acting collectively as communities and privately as isolated persons. In most neighborhoods a large percentage

of the social contacts are of the second and third grade. There seems also to be great variation between individuals and communities within the same agricultural area in respect to their ability to create social contacts.

There are certain features of rural society which give certain distinctive tendencies to its associational life.

MEMBERSHIP IN CHURCHES AND LODGES

Because of the comparative absence of competing activities, the country is a stronghold of the church. Every rural community of any size has from one to five churches. At the same time the farmer is a good lodgeman, owing to the rarity of men's clubs. Naturally, these two organizations, which are well organized in the country and which easily dominate every other form of socializing agency of group nature, will furnish a very basic social service.

The following figures, taken from several surveys, indicate the farmers' membership and attendance at church. Thaden [6] summarizes these figures: "In Montgomery County, Maryland, 35 percent of the population are church members and the average church attendance is 13.4 percent of the entire population. Each Sunday sees 22 percent of the Protestant population in the churches. Thirty-eight percent of the normal church congregation are men.

"In Northeastern Minnesota, 40 percent of the heads of families and 40 percent of the wives are church members, 33 percent of the total number of families attend church regularly. . . . It is noteworthy that until they are married men do not join church as readily as women.

"In Southern Travis County, Texas, 70 percent of the population were members of some church, 66 percent of the whole tenant class and 78 percent of the owners being members. Of the white population only 77 percent of the owners and 59 percent of the tenants were church members. . . . Sixty percent of the owners, and 50 percent of the tenants attended church regularly. Thirty-five percent (287 out of 816) gave some reason for not attending services regularly, which reasons may be grouped as follows: physical, 157; biological, 35; social, 91; and religious, 4."

This summary also states that in six counties in Southeastern Ohio, 38.7 percent of the males and 61.3 of the females belong to church.

Pierce in his surveys of *Three Rural Townships in Iowa*, found that

[6] Thaden, J. F., *An Analytical and Critical Study of Rural Social Surveys in the United States*, p. 97. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at Iowa State College Library.)

44 percent in township C, 39 percent in township L, and 22 percent in township M, were church-members.[7] Since 22 percent regarded themselves regular attendants, their social contacts would total about 50-70 per year. Another 47 percent who were occasional attendants would have 5-15 social contacts per year. The average farmer on the Western Iowa survey spent about 25 hours a year in church. The Minnesota survey finds that 65 percent of the men belong to church, but that only 34 percent attend church regularly. Districts where there are larger elements of Scandinavians or Germans will show a much higher church membership and attendance than native communities, since their type of church is more compulsory and traditional, and since church life compensates for the lack of community life. During the first generation the foreigner clings tenaciously to his social-racial-religious group. In the Minnesota surveys [8] 100 percent of the Swedes were church members, as compared to 76 percent of the Germans and 43 percent of the native Americans.

Thaden [9] summarizes several studies which investigate the farmer's lodge affiliations. "In four northwestern Ohio counties there are in the rural section 131 separate lodges in which 32 percent of the adult male population in the rural districts are enrolled—their average attendance is 27.5 percent of their total enrollment. Of 142 farmers in Monroe County, Iowa, 41 percent are members of lodges, but only 30 percent attend regularly. . . . In northeastern Minnesota, 21 percent of 496 farmers are members of lodges, but only 40 percent of those who belong attend any meeting during the year. Those who attend go on an average of 7 times a year. . . . But a small percentage of farm owners with less than 100 acres are lodge members, the percentage increasing with the number of acres. The range is from 20 percent in case of farmers who own 60 acres to 49 percent of the owners who have 600 acres. The lodges which make much of the insurance benefit are by far the stronger, the same as in three Indiana counties, where the lodges with insurance features have 64 percent of the lodge membership.

"The average membership per lodge in these three counties is 77, but only 20 percent of the members attend. In Montgomery county, Maryland, for all lodges in the county, not more than 15 percent of the lodge members attend at any given session. Of the 136 farm families in

[7] Pierce, P. S., *Social Surveys of Three Rural Townships in Iowa.* University of Iowa, Studies in Social Science, Volume V, No. 20, p. 72.

[8] Thompson and Warber, *Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota.* University of Minnesota, Studies in Economics, Bulletin No. 1, p. 57.

[9] Thaden, J. F., *op. cit.,* pp. 119-120.

Southern Minnesota, 20 percent of the tenants and 39 percent of the owners are lodge members and the percentage for wives of tenants and owners is nine and eight, respectively."

There seems to be some overlapping of church and lodge membership. Surveys by Thompson and Warber [10] in Minnesota, indicate the extent of this correlation: 21 percent of the men were members of both churches and lodges, while 44 percent were church members only. Four percent of the women were both lodge and church members, while 71 percent were church members only. Eleven percent of the men and four percent of the women were lodge members only. Mr. Thaden [11] summarizes several surveys to develop the relation between churches and lodges. "None of the surveys showed that lodge membership in any way tended to react unfavorably upon church membership. In the Indiana surveys a few people 'claimed that lodges interfered with the churches.' This was true only where the churches did not show a spirit of brotherhood. Where the churches are strong the lodges are generally strong. In the Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, study, the 'bulk of the lodge members are either members of the church or sympathizers with it, so that there is no competition or friction except in isolated instances. . . . In all of the 44 communities in Central Illinois, 'Secret societies prevail, but not as large a percentage of lodge men attend their lodges as churchmen attend church; and where the lodge men attend their lodges regularly (as 20 percent of the lodge members do), there is generally a good church attendance also."

THE FARMER AS A MEMBER OF FARM ORGANIZATIONS

Thompson and Warber [12] found in their studies in Minnesota that 14 percent of the tenants and 35 percent of the owners belong to the creamery; 9 percent of the tenants and 31 percent of the land owners belong to elevator associations; 9 percent of the tenants and 10 percent of the owners belong to telephone companies. Tenancy is too uncertain an economic proposition to warrant any wholesale joining of co-operatives.

There is considerable variation in the type of social contacts secured through farm organizations in different communities. Many statistical studies bear out the fact that the Farm Club, Farm Bureau, Farm Union, and Grange are important sources of socialization.

[10] Thompson and Warber, *Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota.* University of Minnesota, Studies in Economics, Bulletin No. 1, p. 58.

[11] Thaden, J. F., *op. cit.,* p. 120.

[12] Thompson and Warber, *op. cit.,* pp. 28-29.

In Lone Tree Township[13] it was found that 15 farm owners belonged to an average of 1⅓ farmer organizations and that 25 tenants belonged to an average of 1 1/25 farmer organizations. In Iowa there were, in 1922, approximately 399 farm union locals, 31 granges, 223 community clubs, 1526 township farm bureau organizations; 450 of which met every month, 650 of which met 37 times a year, 703 of which have program committees, and 924 of which have women's sections.

THE FARMERS' RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

The farmers' social-contact income from clubs, entertainments, socials, etc., varies in different communities and localities, depending on the racial compositions, type of farming, and stage of social organization. The person traveling into the country from the city easily forms too low an estimate of the development of social clubs, study clubs, and entertainment programs in the country. Most communities owe their under-socialization to over-organization. The following tables give an idea of the extent to which the farmer desires and patronizes different forms of entertainment and recreation. As we get into the more pioneer and backward communities, unplanned and sporadic types of entertainment take the place of the carefully engineered and organized. Many of the contacts of socially-undeveloped communities are secured through amorphous crowds with a disorganized, adventitious form of program. Other contacts come through commercial shows or amusements. With social machinery talent is not developed intensively.

ATTENDANCE,[14] AT VARIOUS FORMS OF ENTERTAINMENT, OF TEXAS FARMERS

	Total	Motion Pictures	Circus	Fairs	Picnics	Barbecues	Holiday Celebrations	Community Gatherings	Dancing
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
White Owners	94	36	42	9	59	32	20	35	10
White Tenants	81	39	39	10	51	40	16	19	12
Negro Owners	19	0	42	0	36	21	36	31	5
Negro Tenants	66	12	48	9	62	38	62	25	12
Mexicans	26	11	23	0	11	3	11	3	15

[13] Von Tungeln, G. H., *A Social Survey of Lone Tree Township, Clay County, Iowa.* Iowa State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 193, p. 230.

[14] Haney and Wehrwein, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

DIAGRAM [15] SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES PARTAKING OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF RECREATION

Billiards	5%
Fishing	14%
Lectures and Musicals	18%
Band Concerts	25%
Evening Visits	47%
Baseball	52%
Moving picture shows	55%
Music	59%
Dancing	62%
Cards	66%
Reading	66%
Sociables and picnics	70%

The following table taken from the Iowa Survey of Pierce [16] gives additional data:

RECREATION, AMUSEMENT, AND ENTERTAINMENT OF FARM FAMILIES

Form of Recreation Entertainment	Owners		Tenants	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Band Concerts	24	29	20	23
Baseball	2	2	2	3
Billiards	4	5	2	3
Card Playing	15	18	14	23
Dancing	12	14	15	25
Evening Visits	22	26	23	28
Fancy Work	41	50	36	59
Fishing	20	24	16	27
Hunting	35	42	26	43
Lectures	38	46	21	35
Moving Pictures	38	41	23	38
Music	33	40	25	42
Picnics	49	59	32	54
Reading	56	68	35	58
Sociables	52	63	41	68
Sunday Visits	38	46	39	60

RURAL ASSOCIATION IS LIMITED AND INTENSE

The city dweller meets large numbers of strangers, while the rural person meets numerous friends and acquaintances. Rural society is intensive, while urban society is extensive. Rural society is deep in its contact, while urban society is broad. City audiences which listen to sermons, entertainments, and lectures are large, but comparatively unacquainted; rural audiences are small but well-acquainted. A person may meet 100 people in the "hurry-hunt-and-bustle" of the city thorough-

[15] Thompson and Warber, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
[16] Pierce, P. S., *op. cit.*, p. 82.

fare before he negotiates one visit. On the other hand, the farmer or small townsman visits with nearly every one he meets. Many city people bask in the sense of mingling with hundreds of throngs during the day, while rural folks enjoy the face-to-face comradeship of intimate circles of friends. The city dweller "calls," while the country dweller really visits. The calling card substitutes for many a heart-to-heart talk. The city soul hides behind a camouflage of diplomatic niceties and perfunctory politeness, while the rural soul lays bare the history of a lifetime's strivings and longings.

NEIGHBOR VERSUS CLIQUE SOCIETY

In the country you neighbor with persons in your locality; in the city you associate with people not in your neighborhood, but in your clique or social level. Thousands of city people have no dealings with their next-door neighbors, and are unaware of the identity of people within their own block. While in the country association tends to follow locality, it tends to follow clique or social stratum in the city. In some ways local association is a disadvantage, since it tends to limit association to persons who may have unlike interests along cultural lines. And this condition exists despite the fact that such persons follow the same occupation and reside in the same neighborhood. Many young people seek the city in order to link their interests with kindred spirits. To youth, life in a community dominated by "age" may often seem dull.

On the other hand, clique association often gets narrow. Social sets in cities are quite exclusive and inbred so far as ideas go. Comparatively few individuals develop the "star self" and group themselves with various types of city "social sets." There is something inspiring about the democracy of rural society, where hired man rubs elbows with wealthy landlord, and where farmers eat supper with bankers and school superintendents. Within the city the society of the large business man is closed to working people. Within the country the working man is on a social plane with the commercial man, even when he comes from the large city to visit the local community club.

FAMILY ASSOCIATION IN THE COUNTRY

In the country people attend church entertainments and festivals in family groups, while in the city each age group tends to have its particular form of association. Since rural audiences are mixed groups, they are, from many standpoints, somewhat harder to work with. When

youth mingles with age it is reminded of its educational, religious, and social obligations. Young life stimulates the older section of an audience, while older minds stabilize the immature minds. In the city church children troop home after Sunday School, while in the rural church they remain for church. There can be little doubt that children profit by a contact with the adult mind.

IN THE COUNTRY PSYCHIC ASSOCIATION IS OFTEN SUBSTITUTED FOR PERSONAL ASSOCIATION

Whenever a class of people are isolated by distance or weather, there is a tendency to resort to indirect or psychic association in the form of books, papers, phonograph concerts, or radio talks. The devices of psychic association have found a ready sale in the country. In the city face-to-face association is so easy and consumes so much energy that little vitality is left for the indirect form of association. During the long winter evenings farm families spend many hours in reading, or listening to phonographs or radios, which, to a large extent, compensates for the lack of personal contacts and tends to develop a more meditative mind. During the summer and fall the automobile, with marvelous rapidity, brings the farmer into personal touch with the social world.

ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED ON A SMALL AREA

While a city church or school may often represent a population of 5000, rural organizations rarely have a constituency of over 400 families. Most neighborhood institutions are backed by from 20 to 40 families. Within this number there is often a dearth of talent and leadership. However, with the coming of the community area, comprising both the country town and its surrounding trade territory, we have a much more satisfactory unit of organization; and, as time elapses, we are likely to witness a considerable enlargement of the rural area of organization until it approaches more closely that of the city. Because of their smaller area of association, rural organizations tend to be simple and unspecialized, and, so, often force the rural leader into the manifold rôles of song leader, ticket seller, and dramatic coach.

SUMMARY

The last three chapters have attempted, on the basis of limited studies, to present social conditions, living conditions, and culture levels as they are. The next chapters will attempt to analyze the various factors that affect the socialization process in the country community.

Many of these factors have rather a transitory and indirect effect upon the socialization process. Others have a more direct influence. Some are subject to human control through social engineering, while others are largely beyond the power of any human agency. To expedite their discussion, these factors have been classified into physical, economic, physiological, psychological, and sociological.

Through a study of these factors which influence the level of living in the country, we are studying the field of rural sociology with a somewhat different perspective. Various rural problems, which have often been presented as isolated, relate themselves around one major problem, and are thus given a sociological rather than a technical interpretation.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. In what way may we get a quantitative picture of the social life of a rural community? How may we calculate the relative contribution of each organization to the social-contact production of a community?
2. Does the social-contact analysis give marked differentiations of communities that outwardly appear similar? Will a microscope reveal differences of structure invisible to the naked eye? Apply the answer to the use of a sociological analysis for communities that show little variation as far as population, agriculture, wealth, and institutions are concerned.
3. Is there an economy in the production of social contacts? Show how some communities have too much overhead in the way of surplus social agencies.
4. From what institutions or socializing agencies is the farmer receiving most of his social contacts? What percent of his contacts are of "A" class? What social contacts would you class as "A"?
5. To what extent do communities vary in the percent of "A" contacts produced? To what extent do individual farmers vary in their socialization level?
6. Enumerate the peculiarities of rural society—as distinguished from urban society—that influence the quantity and quality of social contacts.

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CHAPTER VII

THE POPULATION FACTOR

POPULATION AND THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Not only does the character of a population with reference to age, sex, religion, wealth, race intelligence, and education affect the socialization process, but the socialization process reacts upon population. Hence, the state of a population at any given time, as compared to other populations, gives valuable, circumstantial evidence as to the socialization level. Thus the relative numbers of any population who send their children to high school, or who join study clubs, may give a key to the progress of the collective mind.

Population variations indicate many specific social trends. Abnormal social conditions and types of institutionalization are presaged in a preponderance of one sex over the other. With the presence of large numbers of defectives, we are likely to expect a more primitive type of group life. An increasing number of delinquent girls or boys may indicate a disintegrating home or family life, or it may focus our attention upon the high birth rate of morons. A decreasing poverty rate may lead us to study the distribution and socialization of wealth, or the improved efficiency in family consumption of social utilities. An increasing number of bachelors and spinsters may indicate that certain influences are disturbing the marriage institution.

Furthermore, the social groups through which the social process functions are based upon certain resemblances within the population. The comparative homogeneity of the people has much to do with the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of the social contacts. Thus a motley population affords a natural basis for clannishness and race feuds, while a homogeneous population furthers tolerance and co-operation. While resemblances form groups, dissimilarities disintegrate them. For these various reasons a knowledge of a population is a necessary basis for more accurately interpreting, generally and specifically, the socialization process as to its needs, trends, and control.

VITALITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION

The country has always been regarded as the place of invigorating sunshine, open spaces, fresh air, pure water, and healthful food. Under blue skies and open fields were produced virile manhood and pure womanhood. And so it has been the prevailing idea that the country people exceed city people in vitality. Surely no people could be under-vitalized with such a plentiful supply of wholesome food. Yet health in these modern times is very much a matter of scientific hygiene, sanitation, and nutrition. During the pioneer periods, when cities were without sewage systems, pasteurized milk, health centers, or adequate hospital service, the rural population had an enormous advantage. However, the application of science to the city health problem has nearly wiped out the environmental and natural advantage of country over city. It should always be recognized that vitality is fundamentally a matter of heredity, and that this consideration extends our study into a field of racial types. Comparison of rural and urban populations in the United States is made difficult by the relatively rapid migrations of people to and from the cities, coupled with the fact that both country and city have received heavy streams of foreign immigrants of different types.

RURAL AND URBAN BIRTH RATES

In 1920[1] the city had one child under 5 to every 2.8 women of from 15 to 44 years of age. The rural ratio was 1 to 1.7. The city birth rate has fallen more rapidly than the country birth rate. There can be little doubt that the influx into the large cities in recent years of Poles, Italians, Russians, etc.—races that have a high birth rate—has tended to maintain the city rate. Thompson[2] makes an interesting notation concerning the fecundity of farm women as compared with those of other occupational types. "The women whose husbands are engaged in professional service have borne and have still living the smallest number of children, the averages being about 2.2 and 2.0 respectively. . . . Wives of farmers, next to wives of miners, considering only the larger groups, have borne and have still living the largest number of children, the averages being 3.8 and 3.4 respectively." It is quite apparent that the rural population, on the basis of its birth rate, can more than reproduce itself. In fact,

[1] *Births, Still-birth, and Infant Mortality Statistics for 1922.* Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, p. 13.

[2] Thompson, W. S., "Population Facts for the United States and Their Interpretation," *Journal of American Statistical Association,* March, 1923, p. 584.

without the continual migration to the urban centers our country population would show a fairly rapid rate of increase. Certain factors are advanced, which in varying degrees may account for the higher birth rate and larger family in the country.

1. More natural living conditions exist in the country. Within the city, life exerts a greater strain on the nervous system of women, and to this extent increases sterility. Furthermore, in large cities more sexual energy is diverted into prostitution. On account of the lack of information, abortion and infanticide are less common in the country.

2. Children are reared more cheaply in the country because of the more plentiful supply of food and the opportunity of doing such chores as will contribute to their up-keep. Certainly, they are a greater economic asset in the country.

3. Children in the country do not constitute so much of an impediment to social life. Country mothers take babies to social gatherings; city mothers must leave them at home.

RURAL AND URBAN DEATH RATES

In 1916, in the registration states, the urban death rate was 15.0 per 1000 people; and the rural, 12.9 per 1000 population; in 1921 the urban rate [3] was 12.3, and the rural rate 10.9. It should be noted that a crude death rate comparison places the country at a disadvantage, for the rural districts have a heavy preponderance of children under 5, an age group with a high death rate, while the city has a heavy preponderance of persons 20-44 years, an age group with a low death rate. In spite of this handicap, the rural districts show a lower mortality rate.

In certain directions the city has done more to lower its death rate than the rural districts. Within the last decade we have seen the extension of water mains and sewage lines into practically every portion of the American city, while not 10 percent of the rural homes have as yet installed what would even pass as a system of sewage disposal. Small headway has been made as yet in ridding the rural districts of polluted cisterns, springs, and surface wells. Both city and country have made effective warfare against the unclean and germ-laden fly. During this same period we have witnessed the disintegration of large-city, slum areas through the instrumentality of automobiles, paved roads, and extended trolley-lines. While factories have banished many of their dark, dank, tubercu-

[3] *"Mortality Statistics,"* 1921. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 22nd Annual report, p. 17.

losis-breeding corners, and while industries have adopted medical welfare work and shorter hours, country homes still have most of their bacilli-protecting shade-trees and dark, unventilated sitting rooms. While the city milk supply has, to a large extent, come under the system of certification and pasteurization, millions of farmers make little effort to prevent the contamination and infection of the milk supply. Finally, the city has, during the decade, been stirred by intensive campaigns for sanitation, milk depots, free clinics, and free dispensaries. This campaign is also moving to the rural districts, and should, in the next decade, secure a rapid fall in rural death rates, which should naturally be much lower than the city rate.

In 1922 [4] the infant mortality rate was 81 for the city and 76 for the country. A native rural population with a progressive agriculture, as in Nebraska,[5] has an infant mortality rate as low as 57, while among the negroes of South Carolinia we have the high rate of 119; and for the State of South Carolina as a whole, we have a rate of 93. Several cities with large sections of new immigrants tend to augment the infant mortality rate of the city. City and country differ as to the diseases contributing to the infant mortality; thus, diphtheria takes a toll three times as heavy in the city as in the country, while influenza takes a toll nearly twice as high in the country districts.

LONGEVITY—URBAN AND RURAL

People live longer in the country. Bookkeepers [6] die at 36.5 years of age, machinists at 43, coal miners at 51.3, and farmers at 58.5. For all occupations the average age of death is 47.9. Thus, the country boy at birth expects seven years and nine months [7] more life than his city cousin, while the country girl expects three years and eight months more than her urban sister.

MARRIAGE AMONG RURAL PEOPLE

In interpreting data bearing on this problem, we should note that the city has had a recent influx of early-marrying foreigners, and that the urban centers have a preponderance of people of the marriageable age group, 20-44. Even with this disadvantage, the rural districts marry

[4] *Birth, Still-birth and Infant Mortality Statistics for 1922.* Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, p. 13.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[6] "United States Census and United States Department of Labor Data," compiled by Ralph Grover in *New York Herald,* December 11, 1921.

[7] *United States Life Tables.* Bureau of Census, 1910, pp. 38-44.

59.5 percent of the males and 64.3 percent of the females over 15 years of age, as compared to the urban figures of 58.9 and 57.6, respectively.[8] In the age group 20-24, 31.1 percent of the rural men are married as compared to 25.8 of the urban men. In the case of women of this age group, the figures are 58.4 for the country and 47.6 for the city. In every age group the country has some advantage. Also, it should be noted, women show a much greater tendency to marry in the country, since, in the city, there is an excess of females as compared to the country. In the city, women defer marriage longer, on account of the fact that they have access to positions by which they can support themselves. Finally, it should be noted that the proportion of married persons 15-24 years of age among the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage is smaller than in other groups, and that this type is more numerous in urban than in rural communities.

It is quite likely that, upon the whole, rural people tend to marry not only more, but also earlier than urban people. Several factors exist which would bring this about.

1. The absence of boarding and rooming houses in the country. Single workers, especially of the female sex, find it more difficult to provide a home for themselves outside of wedlock. A man who is single may operate a bank or store, but he would have difficulty operating a farm. Without a wife to aid in caring for poultry and garden, he would lose two important assets in living on the farm. Few young bachelors attempt to operate a farm, since by its very nature, farming is a family task.

2. The wife is more of an asset in the country than in the city. Without going away from home, she can make an important contribution to the living of the family.

3. Courtship is taken more seriously in the rural community, and a larger number of sex friendships end in marriage. Few young farmers have the guiles of the city "sheik" who glories in the long list of "shebas."

4. It is easier for women to secure a husband in the country, where men outnumber the women to a larger degree. At the same time there is not the opportunity to earn a living outside of the home.

DIVORCE IN THE COUNTRY

The farmer has a low record of marital shipwreck as compared with that in other occupations. A study of the period previous to 1906 shows

[8] *Fourteenth United States Census*, 1920, Vol. II, pp. 576-577.

that farmers divorce about one third to one quarter as frequently as many types of professional men. The Census of 1920 shows [9] that in the rural districts of the United States, there was one divorced woman to every 114 married women, while in the urban districts there was one divorced woman to every 60 married women. In urban districts there were 11,605,237 men married and 142,778 divorced. In rural districts the figures were 10,244,029 men married and 92,506 divorced. The urban rate for men is, thus, materially higher.

Several factors tend to decrease the divorce rate in the country as compared to the city:

1. The greater difficulty for a woman to secure a living as a divorcée in rural districts than in the city. This would tend to make her less independent and more disposed to put up with unsatisfactory conditions.

2. Husband and wife co-operate more, and the farm family acts as a domestic economic unit. This promotes a greater amount of family solidarity.

3. A less amount of dissipating life, in cabarets and midnight revels, prevents many "triangles" that lead to the divorce court. On the farm, husband and wife are content with a night's rest after the long day's toil. There are comparatively few divorces among unskilled laborers, because of the family stability brought about by strenuous physical exertion and a hard struggle for existence; and the same factor operates with farm families.

4. The divorce case carries more stigma and disgrace in a community where the parties are known, and where their family history is common property. Thus, in the country, the social standards exercise a more restraining influence upon the husband and wife.

5. A large number of country families bear children, and children always mitigate the tendency toward divorce.

It should continually be recognized, in making such comparisons, that religion and nationality have much to do with divorce. Thus, in areas where Catholics predominate, we shall not find many divorces. Divorces would also be rare among German farmers, especially among those who are foreign born. It is probable that race and religion have more to do with divorce than urban or country residence.

PHYSICAL DEFECTS OF THE COUNTRY AND THE CITY CHILDREN

Most studies indicate that large numbers of rural children are neglected as far as the regular inspection and care of such defects as adenoids,

[9] *Ibid.*

enlarged tonsils, short-sightedness, defects of hearing, defects of speech, and decayed teeth are concerned. Veterinarians look after the teeth of farm horses, but the farm children may not know what a dentist looks like. Hence, rural children are two to three times as likely to suffer from malnutrition, adenoids, lung defects, enlarged glands, eye defects, ear defects, and breathing defects, as city children, while in teeth defects and enlarged tonsils they tend to run 50 percent higher. Such defects do not necessarily indicate any natural or inherent weakness, but rather a neglect upon the part of parent and teacher. In consolidated school districts with a school nurse, the children make a far better showing.

DEFECTS AMONG THE ADULT RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION

The Army examiners[10] who studied the physique of our drafted men of age group 21-31 have provided us with some interesting data. In urban United States the rate for defects among urban recruits was 609 per 1000 men examined and 528 for rural recruits. The rate for obesity was 2.37 per 1000 for urban recruits and 1.49 for rural recruits. In the matter of underweight the city rate was 31.3 as compared to the rural rate of 23.8, while underheight appeared only half as frequently among the rural recruits. In the case of such ailments as muscular rheumatism, anemia, epilepsy, chorea, the rural rate is higher, but with such troubles as varicocele, goiter, diabetes, bronchitis, etc., the rural rate is lower. On the whole the rural recruits showed the superior physique.

RESISTANCE OF RURAL POPULATION TO INFECTIOUS DISEASES

The facts gathered by Love and Davenport[11] from army camps indicate that communicable diseases were least in those cantonments which drew from city areas. This was particularly true of measles, mumps, lobar pneumonia, cerebrospinal meningitis, scarlet fever, and influenza. It seems quite evident that not only do city-bred recruits tend to acquire immunity from their early contact with these diseases, but that many with a weak resistance are eliminated in childhood. In sparsely settled rural areas, early exposure to such diseases is rare. Such is not evidence of any lack of vitality upon the part of rural residents, but merely an indication that the struggle for survival against epidemics is stronger

[10] *Defects Found in Drafted Men.* War Department Publication, 1920, pp. 348-393.

[11] Love and Davenport, Reprint from *Archives Internal Medicine,* August, 1919. Vol. XXIV (August, 1919), pp. 129-153. Reprint, pp. 23-27.

in the city than in the country, for in just the same way, acquired immunity is far more general in densely populated Oriental countries than in sparsely populated Occidental countries.

SEX COMPOSITION OF THE RURAL AND URBAN PEOPLE

The country has, between the ages 15 to 45 and over, 110.7 males to every 100 females, while the city, within the same age group, has 99.2 males to every 100 females.

This difference in sex ratio is largely a matter of occupational selection. While the farm employs upwards of two and one-half million agricultural laborers, most of whom are men, "hired girls" are almost a disappearing quantity in the country, because the self-respecting and self-sufficient American girl looks upon the rôle of domestic servant as menial, and that of stenographer, nurse, or teacher as honorific. Furthermore, the last two decades have witnessed the invasion of numerous city professions and industries by women, who comprise one-fifth of our industrial workers. Although males predominate in the country, the advantage is not sufficient to create a "male psychology" or a masculinized social life, so that the sociological effects of the sex ratio are negligible.

AGE COMPOSITION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION

Several factors operate to give the country a different age distribution than the city. Thus, we have the migration of youth to the city to seek positions and education. It is also noteworthy that certain rural districts furnish more than their quota of college students. In other prosperous, rural districts, many elderly farmers retire to a milder climate or to the town, as is quite apparent from the numerous colonies of corn-belt farmers in California. Again, larger families in the country give rural districts a higher proportion of children under sixteen. The following table of age distribution indicates these tendencies.

AGE CLASSES IN COUNTRY AND CITY, 1920[12]

Age Class	Percent of Each Class Rural Population	Percent of Each Class Urban Population
Under 5	12.3	9.7
5– 9	12.3	9.3
10–14	11.6	8.6
15–19	9.7	8.2
20–44	33.8	42.7
45 and over.	20.2	21.3

[12] *Fourteenth United States Census*, 1920, Vol. III, p. 16.

It should be noted that in our recent immigration were a large number of men from 19-45 years of age, who went into the larger cities. This helps account for the advantage of the city over the country in the matter of the 20-44 age group.

In pioneer days most of the young people attended the neighborhood school, married early, and settled down in the locality. Today, there are communities which have lost to the city over half of their young people. Especially is this true of rural villages which are near a large metropolitan center.

MENTAL DEFECTS AMONG RURAL PEOPLE

As a rule, we find a larger ratio of feeble-minded in our rural districts. It is not that the country people are inherently inferior in stock, but that in static rural localities there is much inbreeding of defective strains. In many rural districts the feeble-minded are kept in the homes and so grow up and marry, while in the city they are supported with more difficulty, and are therefore likely to be taken into institutions.

The Army Intelligence tests [13] indicated that the ratio of mental deficiency in men from the urban districts is 8.77 per 1000, and from rural districts 17.59 per 1000.

INTELLIGENCE OF THE RURAL POPULATION

It should be noted at the outset that in the absence of adequate rural mental tests, generalizations about this matter are rather hasty. In the United States, the melting-pot of numerous European elements, intelligence is largely a matter of race rather than of occupational environment. To the extent that any agricultural region attracts a certain racial stock or stream of immigration, it takes on the mental capacity of that stock. After a time a migration of the brighter or more ambitious may occur which will lower the intelligence level. The corn belt, however, largely settled by Northern European races with a high average intelligence, should surpass the mental ability of the large cities which have received a large number of recent arrivals from Southern Europe. Most of the Northern European races, according to Army tests, ranged from 4.3-19 percent in the A and B intelligence groups, while Southern European races ranged from 1-5. Such corn-belt states as Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska, etc., have a low rate of illiteracy, a large percentage of people high-school educated, and the indications of an intelligent people. Such states were

[13] *Defects Found in Drafted Men,* p. 365. War Department Publication, 1920.

settled by substantial, intelligent stock from Germany, Great Britain, and Scandinavia. Where we have large 160-acre farms and machine farming, occupational selection will eliminate the less intelligent, who will migrate to regions where unskilled jobs are available.

CRIMINALITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION

Since law enforcement is generally much stricter in the city with its organized police force, any comparison of crime rates on the basis of arrests and commitments is difficult. Immoral conduct, drinking, fighting, stealing, speeding, etc., are more likely to go unapprehended in the country than in the city. However, the actual crime rate of the country is probably lower for the following reasons:

1. Isolation. Many crimes, such as immorality, brawls, drunkenness, come about through the association of people. When alone, a man can commit few crimes.

2. The mingling of races of different temperament and tradition in the city. This tends to friction and intolerance. Many of the newly-immigrated find it difficult to adjust themselves to American ways.

3. Less acquaintance of city people with one another. In the rural district everybody knows everybody else, and it is difficult to conceal crime. When chickens are stolen, wise heads begin to gossip and point their fingers in certain directions because everybody's reputation and family history are known. Among the thousands of strangers in the city, it is easier to conceal crime.

4. The institutionalization of crime in the city. Modern crime must be organized to cope with modern police systems. Without "fences," "spotters," money for bribery of officials, lawyers to work "alibis," "frame-ups," etc., the criminal has no chance. As a result boys of country origin who take up a life of crime are apt to ally themselves sooner or later with a criminal gang in the city, and eventually to become members of a criminal system.

5. Open-air occupations tend to prevent the nervous instability which leads to crime. Vocations which wrest a living from nature in an open-handed, direct way do not lead to such distorted ethics, as do occupations which work upon the weaknesses of human nature. Such occupations as stock promoting, high-pressure selling, speculating on stock exchanges, and handling large sums of money lead easily into the ethical philosophy of "do others before they do you," "no quarter in business," and "let the buyer beware." Money is usually earned in the country by the

"sweat of one's brow," and so the youth have an honest ideal of wealth-acquisition set before them.

6. People are led into crime by associations with other people, and by the attempt to keep up appearances even after the bank-account is over-drawn.

7. Again, large aggregations of wealth are concentrated in the city in the form of costly jewelry, huge deposits of money, valuable art collections, etc. This makes the city a richer field for the thief, the forger, the burglar, the confidence man, the auto thief, and the hold-up man. Wealth and poverty are so closely contrasted in the city that this alone gives much motivation to theft.

8. Few gangs of boys are found in the rural districts. It is from the boy gangs which become predatory that criminal gangs develop. Even if the rural gang failed to break up, it would have difficulty in contacting with a "crime school" where modern methods of performing crimes could be instilled.

The facts are what we would expect. In 1910[14] for every 389 farmers in our population, one was committed to a penal institution. For barbers the rate was 1-44, and for teamsters 1-28. For the whole of industry in 1910, which included 38,167,336 workers, there were 493,934 commitments, or about one for every 77 people employed.

In juvenile crime, also, the country has a much lower rate, and largely for the same reasons. Juvenile courts and methods of caring for delinquents are not well organized in rural counties; neither are effective methods of apprehension existent. Boys and girls are likely to be arrested only for major offenses. Stealing melons, which would lead to arrests in the city, generally goes unpunished in the country.

Most students remark that more crimes are of a violent nature in rural districts, and that few crimes are of a professional character.

POVERTY IN THE RURAL POPULATION

In many large cities it is estimated that from 25 to 35 percent of the people at certain times fall into the relief column. In the country it is not likely that 1 family in 12 has to seek the aid of the authorities, even in the winter. A more complete consideration of this subject is given in connection with the standard of living in the country.

[14] *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents In the United States.* Bureau of Census, 1910, pp. 150-153.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE RURAL POPULATION

Our Northern agricultural areas were settled by an older immigration from Northern Europe, which has had time to become largely nativized. On the other hand, many of the large cities have been populated by more recent streams of immigrants from Southern and Southeastern Europe. From the standpoint of racial origins, the country has much the advantage. Whether it will lose it by a secondary migration to the city, is still open to question. About one-sixteenth of our rural population in 1920 were foreign born, while about one-fifth of our urban population were foreign born. While inhabitants of such states as Iowa are about nine-tenths of native parentage, those of such cities as New York are about one-fifth of native parentage. While Iowa had only one person out of ten foreign born, New York City had one out of every three of her people foreign born. Chicago has nearly as high a proportion of foreign born. The corn belt states have enticed the German and Scandinavian, while the large cities have attracted the Pole, Russian, Austrian, and Italian. Thus, in the West North-Central states, which are mostly agricultural, we have Scandinavia contributing 25.4 percent of the foreign white stock to Germany's 29.6 percent. Such states as Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, and North Dakota have about one-half of their foreign white population contributed by Germany and Scandinavia. The bulk of the remaining stock has originated from an older migration from the British Isles, some of which settled first in the East, and then moved West. In cities like New York and Chicago, such countries as Russia, Greece, Italy, Austria, and Hungary have contributed between two-fifths and three-fifths of the foreign white stock.

In the South there are very few immigrants in the rural districts. The great element outside of the white stock is the negro, who has almost entirely occupied many of the "black belts."

RELIGION IN RURAL POPULATIONS

Under our institutional analysis and our treatment of socializing agencies, we shall discuss more fully the status of the rural people concerning religion. In a general way we should note that the stronghold of the church is in the rural districts. In the city we have many disturbing influences and a multitude of competing institutions. In rural communities we find that from 40 to 50 percent of the population belong to a Protestant

church. In large cities the proportion falls off rapidly, until in cities of over 300,000, less than 10.2 percent [15] of the population belong to Protestant churches. Taking rural communities and cities of 25,000 together, 28.1 percent belong. On the other hand, the non-Protestant membership rises from 10.7 percent in cities of 25,000 and under—which are combined with rural territory—to 33.1 percent in cities of 300,000 and over. However, when we compare the old, strictly rural territory with the urban center, we shall find that the increase of membership in non-Protestant churches does not offset the falling off in membership in Protestant churches. There is room for the whole gamut of major denominations in the city without creating an over-churched condition. On the other hand, the introduction of the major denominations into the rural town, in an endeavor to serve the various sects there, often gives rise to an over-churched condition. Whereas in some city districts there is one church for every 1000 people, in many country districts there is one church for every 200 people. Thus Pittsburgh has one church or religious organization for every 922 persons. In a number of Iowa towns there is a church for every 100 people in the town.

LITERACY AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN THE RURAL POPULATION

Approximately 7.7 percent of the rural population of the United States is illiterate, as compared with 4.4 percent in the urban districts. This difference is largely traceable to the high proportion of negroes and mountain whites in the country districts of the South that have a high rate of illiteracy. This factor is a matter of race and not of country or city residence. Thus, in South Carolina rural districts, where the negroes [16] are in heavy proportion, we have 18.1 percent illiteracy. In rural Iowa where Germans and Scandinavians predominate, we have only 1.1 percent of the people illiterate. New York City has an illiteracy rate of 6.2 and the Manhattan borough 7.5, resulting, no doubt, from the large number of recent immigrants from Southern Europe. Fall River, Massachusetts, has a rate of 15.8, on account of recent influxes of the foreign born. With a large number of Mexicans in her population, rural Arizona has a rate of 20.4. Those states which curb child labor and have a first-class school system, have low illiteracy. States with a rough topography and isolated groups of "backwards" show an illiteracy rate above normal.

[15] *Interchurch World Survey,* American Vol., pp. 24-25.
[16] *Fourteenth United States Census,* 1920, Vol. II, p. 1154.

With our modern system of communication and transportation, there is no inherent reason for illiteracy in the country.

The following table [17] indicates the relative school attendance for urban and rural United States:

Age Group	Percent Attending School in Urban United States	Percent Attending School in Rural United States
7–13	94.4	87.6
14–15	80.7	79.4
16–17	39.2	46.1
18–20	14.0	15.6

Practically all observers agree that the less ambitious boy who drops out of school at the sixth grade has a tendency either to settle on the home farm, or to secure one near the paternal family.

Up to the eighth grade the city has an advantage, since at this period the country child labors under the disadvantage of the one-room school. However, when the age for entering the secondary school and college is reached, the rural children, in proportion to their numbers, take the lead in attendance. Seemingly, they more than overcome the early handicaps.

EFFECT OF POPULATION MOVEMENTS ON RURAL PROGRESS

While the scientist may be interested in the statistical aspects of population movements, the average citizen's prime concern is the effect of migration upon the welfare of society. The social effects of this phenomenon may be studied from several angles.

The quantitative phase of farm population movements. Is our present rate of migration from the farms likely to deplete seriously our rural labor force and to destroy the population equilibrium between country and city? Gillette [18] maintains that the rural districts, if left to themselves, would increase twice as fast as the city. The country could thus, by virtue of its higher fecundity and lower death rate, contribute people to the city and yet maintain its own population. After a painstaking computation this writer estimates that 7.8 percent of our urban increase from 1900 to 1910 came from incorporation of the smaller towns, 20.5 percent came from natural increase, 41 percent came from foreign immigration, and 30.7 percent came from rural migration. Although from 1910

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 1138-1139.

[18] Gillette, J. M., "A Study in Social Dynamics," *American Statistical Association Quarterly*, December, 1916, pp. 365-367.

to 1920 the percentage of persons living in rural America fell off from 54.2 percent to 48.6 percent, the open country made a gain of 800,000 people, while the towns of 2500 and under recorded a similar increase.

Now there can be no doubt that war, industrial unrest, land booms, and rapid deflation—forces which in some states have placed one-fourth of the farmers on the verge of bankruptcy—have temporarily speeded up rural population shifts. Young [19] believes that from 1919 to 1923, farm population in New York areas was moving away 2½ times as fast as it was being produced. In 1920 farm hands in Ohio decreased [20] 30 percent in one year, while farm men and boys, exclusive of hired men, decreased 8 percent. At the same time vacant and habitable houses in this state increased from 18,000 to 29,000, or 61 percent. From results gathered in New York counties,[21] a considerable acceleration in the movement from the farm is indicated. Thus 33 percent of the men and women born from 1860 to 1869 had left the farm, while 56 percent of the men and 60 percent of women born from 1890 to 1899 had deserted the farm.

Our case for any severe depletion of rural population is not so strong as it seems at first inspection. There has been no absolute loss in rural population between the two last censuses; the heavy migration from 1919 to 1923 was abnormally stimulated. The present stampede to the city, occasioned by the industrial dislocations of war, will exhaust itself as soon as the under-production from under-manned farms boosts agricultural prices, and city jobs are swamped by job-hunters. With a countryside that can furnish 30 percent of the city increase and still add 5.4 percent to itself, there should be no cause for alarm even among the most solicitous and apprehensive minds.

It should also be noted that, in the course of their industrial development, most countries shift population from the farms to the cities. The application of machine methods to agriculture, coupled with the rise of city industries of a large-scale character, inevitably means the transfer of large sections of agricultural laborers to such occupations as mining, manufacturing, transportation, and professional service. Thus, in 1820, when hand methods prevailed, it required 87 percent of our people to man the farms, feed the nation, and make for themselves hundreds of things which now come from city factories. In 1920, 26 percent of our population lived on the farm and raised far more food than we can consume at home. If we represent the grain produced in 1870 by one person as

[19] Young, E. C., *The Movement of Farm Population.* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 426, p. 16.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

100, the figure for 1910 is 145, and for 1920, 182. It is quite evident that this adjustment to increasing efficiency per man in agriculture must come through a shorter work day, through the opening up of new world markets for farm produce, or through the reduction in the number of rural workers by migration to urban centers. The second alternative has been upset by the war and the opening up of areas of virgin land in newer parts of the world. The work day has been slightly reduced, but not enough to curtail production to any degree. So the last type of adjustment has been used to prevent disastrous overproduction, falling farm prices, and living standards. Reduction upon the quantitative side is beneficial to those left behind, as it prevents the cutting up of farms into uneconomic units and adds to the mass of city consumers. The farmer's competitor is not the town merchant or the barber, but his neighbor farmer. Therefore, economic and social progress, up to a certain extent, demands this population movement.

Many of our publicists have manifested much concern over the danger to such institutions as the family, the church and the community, under the strain of city life. The city, they feel, will be the graveyard of the race and the destroyer of family life. It may be economically sound to shift our people to urban occupations, but what about moral and social considerations? It has been stated before that we may have a nation of industrial workers, living under what approximates rural social environment, provided we have cheap and rapid transportation. And this suburbanizing of urban populations is taking place. Witness how slums and congested districts are disappearing as city people are expanding towards the open spaces of the country where gardening, poultry raising, and cheaper rents may reduce the cost of living, and where their children may breathe pure air. Douglas [22] estimates that there are two million suburbanites living on the fringes of 219 cities of 25,000 to 100,000. Of the cities of 500,000 to 750,000, 25.2 percent live in suburbs, and for cities of 1,000,000 and over, 29.8 percent live in suburbs. He also estimates [23] that about fifteen percent of our American people, or twelve and one-half millions, live in suburbs, while about one-fourth of our incorporated urban communities are suburban to great cities.

From 1910 to 1920, while the central parts of cities over 100,000 increased 25.5 percent, the adjacent suburbs increased 29.1 percent. That the suburban shift is a redeeming feature in the sociological aspect of the population problem, Douglas gives [24] testimony:

[22] Douglas, H. P., *The Suburban Trend*, p. 56. The Century Co., 1924.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

"As a community, the suburb is more homogeneous. . . . It uses the old forms of village and town life to which human nature is accustomed because it was created in them. They are less of a strain upon it. . . . Formed out of the dust of the cities, they wait to have breathed into them the breath of community sentiment, of neighborly fraternity and peace. They reflect the unspoiled and youthful aspect of urban civilization, the adolescent and not yet disillusioned part of the city, where, if at all, happiness and worthy living may be achieved, as well as material well-being."

Douglas states that something like 53,000 people [25] are farming within the limits of cities of over 25,000, and that we are just in the infancy of this suburban migration. The old-time notion that every urbanward migrant meant an addition to the soul-killing, enervating maelstrom of metropolitan life has lost its potency. Sometime we may see a nation of urban workers, living under what approximates rural environment. To be sure, too rapid shifting of people from farm to farm, from county to county, and from state to state, tends to undermine the stability of our churches, schools, clubs, farm organizations, and citizenship institutions. Yet a static, slow-moving population becomes tradition-bound and provincial. To all indications we have, as yet, suffered more from the latter ailments than from the former. Before we generalize too hastily on the rural migration problem, we should compare rates of change in city populations. Thus surveys [26] conducted in Columbus, Ohio, showed that only 24.5 percent of the people, in the area studied, had lived there two years. Another set of surveys in Seattle, Washington, indicated a corresponding figure of 38.7 percent. To all indications, then, city populations are far more unstable than rural populations.

The qualitative or selective phase of the farm population movement. After all, the sociologist is interested in the kind of people in the rural communities rather than the quantity. From the standpoint of rural social life, we can better afford to lose five ordinary individuals than one leader.

Migration may take out a share of the people just as they come, or it may "skim off" either the more or the less intelligent portion. As we have previously noted, a mere quantitative reduction of the rural population can actually raise the standard of life of those remaining by reducing production, raising prices, increasing the size of uneconomic farms, and

[25] Douglas, H. P., *op. cit.*, p. 240.
[26] McKensie, R. D., "The Neighborhood; a Study of Local Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVII, p. 493.

increasing the number of city consumers. But if this migration draws too heavily from the intelligent and ambitious, it may rob the community of its leaders and initiators.

Has migration been merely quantitative, or has it been very selective? There can be little doubt that in Europe, many rural areas suffered severe "folk depletion." For, many of its peasantries are intellectually sterile as compared with the city, and, in many instances, a more primitive type of stature and skull-form exists in country districts. However, the migrations to America were from frugal, ambitious, and enterprising middle-class Scandinavians and Germans, the duller, less ambitious type of peasant having remained within his local rut of custom and tradition. Since these hardy land-seekers migrated into the corn belt, selective migration ran in favor of the rural areas.

Does this migration to the city take the educated from our rural territory? The surveys of Young[27] in New York indicate that 77 percent of the men who had attended college had gone into occupations other than farming. The comparative figures for high school and elementary school are 35 and 27. Nearly three times as many college men as grade school men seek occupations other than agriculture in rural New York. Wilson,[28] in his surveys in Tennessee, notes the same tendency.

While 25.3 percent of the third and fifth grade boys and 43.8 percent of the eighth grade, and 9.6 percent of the high school boys remained on the farm, only .7 percent of the college boys remained. While 41 percent of the 6-7th grade girls became the wives of farmers, only 6 percent of their high school sisters married farmers. While 28 percent of these grade girls stayed at home, only 8 percent of the high school girls remained under the paternal roof. Hardly half of our agricultural college graduates return to active farming. In hundreds of our consolidated high schools, over nine-tenths of our boys have expressed preferences for occupations other than farming. Certain factors influence this migration of the educated:

1. The bulk of our colleges train for professions that require a city residence. Even in our agricultural colleges the agricultural students are often outnumbered by engineering and industrial science students.

2. There is still a lack of professional work in the rural community. Until we have raised farming, ministry, grain and livestock marketing,

[27] Young, E. C., *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[28] *A Rural Survey of Tennessee.* Department of Church and Country Life. Presbyterian Church, pp. 14-20.

banking, newspaper editing, and the like to a higher professional standing in the country, we shall work at a disadvantage in securing a goodly quota of college people for the country.

3. Many rural high schools are patterned after the city school. Manned by city-minded teachers, they neglect to give agriculture a fair hearing in their curriculum.

4. As yet we have not brought rural social life to the degree of specialization and efficiency to offer an adequate outlet for educated and trained talent. Education means, naturally, a raising of standards.

There has been much loose talk about educating boys and girls back to the farm, or else keeping them in ignorance so that they will be forced to remain there. Such a short-sighted and unjust policy only fills the farms with discontented misfits. The proper educational and vocational guidance, plus real opportunities in the community, will secure us a group of ambitious farmers who are farming, not because they were ignorant or incapable of other tasks, but because, out of all other professions, they chose farming as the best. It is certain that thousands of our ever-growing throng of college graduates will have to seek an outlet through the industries and the business world. The old so-called honorific professions of law, medicine, teaching, and ministry will not furnish jobs for the great armies of college graduates. Agriculture, motorized and reduced to scientific business methods, should be attractive to the young college man who desires self-determination and independence.

Do the young or the old migrate from the farm? E. C. Young, in his New York surveys,[29] found the median age of leaving the farm for both men and women to be 21 years. In Jefferson County 38 percent, and in Tioga County 19 percent of the men left the farm after thirty years of age. It is quite evident that it is the young men under thirty who will enter new businesses. Older men not only have become financially established, but are unable to adjust themselves to new businesses. Furthermore, older families cannot easily establish new social relations. In a few of the areas of high-priced land, such as Northern Iowa, we have observed a movement of older farmers to the towns. This, however, has greatly slackened during the past three years. Farms which bring sufficient income to maintain two families, one in town and the other on the farm induce migration. However, as compared with the migration of youth, that of old age makes a very poor showing. In a large majority of the cases, when the older man does migrate, he is forced to do so on account of a business failure.

[29] Young, E. C., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Is it the small, uneconomic-sized farms, or the large, economic-sized farms that contribute most heavily to the throng of migrants? Do young men migrate because there is not sufficient land to insure a good labor income? When there are several sons to inherit a small estate, are not some forced to look for business opportunities elsewhere? Young's figures for New York [30] indicate this to be the case. Thus 79 percent in Jefferson County and 62 percent in Livingston County left small farms as compared to the corresponding 16 and 32 percent from the large farms. Doubtless, throughout the country, we will find a tendency to escape from the uneconomic, low-standard-of-life farms.

Naturally the shift is much heavier among such agricultural classes as share-tenants and hired men. The New York survey shows [31] that 11 percent of the owners-operators, 17 percent of the cash tenants, and 50 percent of the share-tenants shift each year. On the average hired men move three times each year.

Does migration select the ambitious, intelligent, and progressive, or those who marry early, get into a rut, and take life as it comes? There can be no doubt that the recent financial depression in speculative, rural Iowa has eliminated thousands of enterprising young farmers who bought a farm at inflated prices with the notion of paying for it and living there permanently. At the same time farmers of the "plunging," "fool-hardy" type who desired to "get rich quick" mortgaged their home farms to buy two or three others. Many of these have lost their entire holdings. It is difficult and hazardous to make sweeping generalizations as to whether this migration is seriously depleting our best rural stocks and reducing our country to a peasantry. Sections differ. It is not likely that the migration is seriously undermining the quality of our rural stock in such states as Iowa or Illinois. It is quite probable that the agricultural areas of the East and Middle States are suffering from folk-depletion. Ross [32] makes this comment on the situation:

"In New England there are rural counties which have been losing their best for three or four generations, leaving the coarse, dull and hide-bound. The number of loafers in some slackwater villages of the Middle States indicates that the natural pace-makers have gone elsewhere to create prosperity. . . . Of late the situation has decidedly improved. The country-life movement has opened the eyes of many bright country youths to farm opportunities. . . . High-priced farm lands necessitating

[30] Young, E. C., *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[32] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, p. 26. The Century Co., 1920.

the use of machinery, thorough-bred livestock, scientific methods and good business judgment challenge the more capable young men, so that in the more prosperous agricultural regions it is the restless rather than the more ambitious who wander to the city."

Our soundings into the qualitative and selective features of the farm population movement have not struck bottom. Within the next ten years, our population studies in various states will throw much more light on the question. Our present analyses are valauble as theorems to guide investigation.

Selective propagation and population progress. If the rate of natural increase of every class, race, or caste within a society is the same, propagation is non-selective, and the composition of the population shows little change. Vitality, vigor, mentality will manifest a very slight tendency to deteriorate or improve. If, however, certain social classes, such as the poor or the mentally defective, rear families larger than the average, there will be a marked depreciation in the quality of the social population. For today, natural selection, interfered with by man's artificial system, no longer eliminates the unfit. In primitive society the rigors of cold and famine removed the weaklings, while in ancient Sparta voluntary exposure of infants "weeded out" the defective. But, thanks to the marvels of our scientific surgery, nursing, and medicine, our modern degenerates and half-wits are saved to become parents of their like. And war, that one time favored the stalwart with its contest of sword and mace, now, with its methods of scientific slaughter, offers not only little advantage to the strong, but actually selects the flower of a nation for "machine-gun fodder." Furthermore, if the population as a whole is overrun by morons, selective migration is unable for any great length of time to prevent one section of a people from degenerating. On this account any dysgenic trend in the birth rate among social classes is a menace to the quality of our rural civilization.

There are still some who cannot take this propagation problem seriously, because they minimize the power of heredity. These skeptics should, however, give careful consideration to certain biological facts. That like produces like is universally known. We do not reap "figs from thistles" or "wheat from tares." Only in a limited degree, can environment overcome the powerful pull of heredity. The mastiff pup soon outgrows the well-fed terrier pup; the best bill of fare will not make children from short families tall; rich soil will not make Northern corn attain the height of Reid's Yellow Dent; Harvard cannot make a scholar out of a Max Juke; life on the railroad cannot suppress the scientific

aspirations of an Edison. Galton's work with 80 pairs of twins indicated that even in different walks of life, identical twins developed similar traits. College-educated parents with average native intelligence will not generally rear a son who will equal in scholarship the son of parents of superior natural mentality who have only a common school education. Environment is like the minute hand of the clock that moves within the limits set by the hour hand of heredity. Out of the Max Juke stock,[33] came 310 paupers, 440 physical wrecks, and 130 criminals, not to mention the immoral women and the potential degenerates who died in infancy. Not only does heredity powerfully influence the prevalence of bad traits in a population but it also manifests its force in bringing forth desirable traits. Thus, musical ability, artistic ability, mechanical ability, scientific ability, follow the inexorable laws of heredity. The Research Laboratory at Cold Harbor presents numerous families which carry down scholastic and artistic ability generation after generation. Because up-to-date, heredity has furnished enough fairly capable people to make our work of training and education successful, let us not be "cunningly trapped" into thinking that it will always continue to do so with any given race of people. Modern medical science and the indiscriminate mingling of racial strains have developed to a point hitherto inconceivable, and have seriously deranged the equilibrium between population classes established under more primitive conditions.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. What influence does the character of a human population have upon the socialization process? How may a historical study of population point out certain trends and tendencies?
2. How do urban and rural populations compare as to vitality? Birth rates? Infant mortality rates? Death rates? Longevity? Mental and physical defects? Resistance to disease? Sex composition? Age composition? Insanity? Intelligence? Criminality? Poverty? Marriage? Fecundity? Divorce? Religion? Literacy and school attendance? Account for these differences. Will time accentuate these variations?
3. Is the present migration of rural people to urban centers excessive?

[33] "This foul brood cost the State of New York $1,250,000; a high price to maintain the 'personal liberty' of Max Juke."

A social service worker also related to the writer the instance of one Iowa family, which, according to her investigations, has produced enough paupers, dependents, criminals, and delinquents to cost her state upwards of $1,250,000.

What forces are back of this present movement? Is there a movement from the city to the country? What are some of the factors in suburban movement? Do you consider the "suburban trend" to be prophetic of a future "rural-dwelling" America and the correlative depopulation of cities?

4. Distinguish between non-selective and selective migration. Is a mere quantitative movement of people from the farm likely to lower or to raise the farmers' standard of living? To what extent is the change in the population ratio between country and city an economic adjustment brought on by a machine age? How is the present migration affecting the quality and personnel of the rural population? Correlate migration with education, size of farm, marital condition, age, type of land occupancy, etc. Is a dynamic community where "moving" is frequent apt to be more progressive than a static community, where there is a low rate of population turnover?
5. What is meant by selective propagation? Show how the rapid multiplication of the unfit presents a serious social problem.

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CHAPTER VIII

TOPOGRAPHY AND SEASON AS SOCIALIZATION FACTORS

SOCIALIZATION IN ITS RELATION TO TOPOGRAPHY

Topography is an indirect factor in socialization, operating through matters that it can influence selectively, such as type of agriculture, race, and people. Furthermore, it becomes significant only at the extremes, very rough, hilly country or flat, monotonous plain. It is only at these points that we find this factor strong enough to develop different types of society. Attention has been called before to backward, primitive communities within the hilly and mountainous districts of Kentucky, Missouri, West Virginia, etc. Natural barriers have insulated the inhabitants and have favored consanguineous marriages, illiteracy, clannishness, and feuds. But in Iowa, Illinois, or Eastern Nebraska, topography is a trivial factor in community classification. However, in the thin strips lying along the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, where hills and bluffs of loess origin are interspersed with well-developed river valleys, physical geography has isolated a population type. Hard-surfaced highways are late in appearing. Community activities and consolidated school districts are retarded. Into these areas, which are unfitted for power farming, a poorer class of tenants with a minimum of machinery makes its way. Rough country, for the most part, attracts backward people, and backward people make backward communities.

INFLUENCE OF TOPOGRAPHY UPON THE TYPE OF AGRICULTURE AND FARMER

One of the notable characteristics of American agriculture is its use of machinery. The machine farmer is a bold contrast to the hand farmer. But hills and stumps are a threat to the heavy power machine, and a slight grade will so reduce the draw-bar pull of the tractor that the plows must be lifted or a shift made into low gear. Two-row-riding corn plows, when used on a steep side-hill, will slide downwards out of position. Within the hill-farm area of Western Iowa counties, there is a tendency to discard the tractor, two-row plow, power binder, and gang plow in favor of the walking cultivator, the light team of horses, and the small six-foot binder.

Such inadequate equipment, plus the slowness of horses, greatly reduces the area which one man can work. This results in farms too small in gross income to maintain the American standard of life. People with the standards of European peasants will tend to survive, by virtue of the fact that hand agriculture is their custom, and that the smaller number of acres will keep them at their standard of life. To compete with this type, the American farmer must go in for an agriculture which favors the use of machinery, and yields a larger income per man. Two factors tend to increase the number of acres in the rough farm: first, the introduction of the grazing system; and, second, the fact that more acres of corn can be tended per plow on the poor eroded soil which is not fertile enough to favor a rapid growth of weeds. A further fact, namely, that more acres can be purchased with a given amount of money in the hill areas, should be mentioned along with the correlative factor that the cheap, hill areas attract tenant-buyers and under-capitalized farmers. This tendency to select a less intelligent and less socialized population-type will disappear as soon as this rough area is utilized for a different type of agriculture, such as dairying, hay production, and grazing. In this case, the "rough eighties," instead of being the magnet for ne'er-do-well tenants, will be combined into large livestock ranches, or perhaps, attached to nearby, bottom land as summer pasturage for stock, which will be fattened later on the more fertile section of the farm. Pasturage, legume hay, and manure will rapidly build up many of these eroded eighties, which have for years been "corned to death" by one-year tenants who eked out a bare existence and made a very meager contribution to the neighborhood.

Taylor, Ely,[1] and others have modified Ricardo's original notion of rent, which assumed that the same type of farmer would operate on both marginal land and super-marginal land, and that the differential of product for a given investment of labor and capital resulted from the difference in the productivity of acres. Rent, then, measured the superiority of any particular acre of land over the marginal. The element of human efficiency was left out entirely. It was noticed by many, however, that the best and most efficient farmers tended to seek out the better soils and leave the poorer farms to the poorer farmers.

This indicates that there is a selective factor operating to change the amount of capital and labor applied to the different types of land, and that each type of management adopted shows a different type of farmer. The more inefficient type of tenant is, generally, the one who has less capital per acre and works less intensively on the poorer soils.

[1] Ely, R. T., *Outlines of Economics*, p. 414. The Macmillan Co., 1919.

A study of the size of farms, value of the farm, in rough countries and level countries, will show that topography has a close relationship to these factors. The following table [2] shows how the rougher areas of Iowa have less improved land per farm and less tenancy than the more level areas.

Name of County	Improved acres per farm	Value of Farm	Percent of farms operated by tenant
Rougher Topography			
Dubuque	113.8	$27,257	21.9
Louisa	126.8	36,718	36.3
Woodbury	155.1	43,662	50.0
Mills	140.2	43,936	46.4
Average	134.0	37,893	38.7
Smoother Topography			
Greene	148.5	$53,720	54.0
Wright	160.7	48,824	53.3
Grundy	163.1	55,971	58.0
Jasper	131.0	42,456	40.0
Average	150.8	50,243	51.3

Tenantry rates tend to run higher on the more level counties due to the fact that these farms yield sufficient income to support two families, one in town and the other on the farm.

In the case of the pioneer farmer, topography did not exercise such a disadvantageous, selective influence. The tendency of the first settlers was to settle along streams, and on the higher, better-drained land, where the prairie grass was not so tall. This higher land, requiring less expense and energy to drain, was in most cases less fertile, and so not destined to develop into the higher-priced farms.

The extent to which climate and topography influences crop zones, and the extent to which these zones influence machine agriculture is apparent when we observe how closely tractors and farm implements follow up corn belts and wheat belts, which depend on level topography, certain temperatures, and a certain amount of rainfall.

As we have noted before, machine agriculture, in contrast to farms having a peasant agriculture, demands a higher intelligence, education, and economic organization. It tends to favor farmers on larger economic farms which support a higher standard of living.

INFLUENCE OF TOPOGRAPHY UPON NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Selective power of topography. Topography may act upon the social life of a rural people in several ways. It may select a certain type of

[2] See *United States Census for 1920*, Vol. VI, Part 1, pp. 534-543.

"mind" or "mental make-up"; it may, with the assistance of climate, determine the type of agriculture and so develop a "crop response community";[3] it may, by isolation and segregation of social groups, tend toward certain provincialisms.

Thus, Kolb,[4] in his Wisconsin studies, found, not only a close relationship between topography and social groups, but a tendency for neighborhoods to divide on watersheds and elongate on level valleys.

While rough topography in a corn-growing state may favor a slow exploitation-type of grain farming known as "corning," and attract roving exploiters, it may in some districts, as in the Far West, lead to ranching and grazing, and so develop a different population type. Within a grain belt where plowing, planting, and tillage are habitual and where people are not accustomed to any other type of agriculture, the rough farms simply attract the corn farmer of an inexperienced type who lacks sufficient initiative to adapt his agriculture to the topography. The "hill billy" plows up the maximum amount of corn land for his grain rent share, with the result that the surface earth is washed into the river bottoms. Finding his field growing less and less fertile, he moves on. The next renter leases it only to discover that the land is not profitable. He moves on with no further difficulty than loading a wagon with his earthly belongings. And so the selective process goes on.

Topography may encourage or retard the development of community institutions. In many Iowa districts rough topography offers an impediment, not only to the development of communities, but to the organization of trade areas of sufficient size to form efficient social programs. In Western Iowa counties there are many creek-hollow neighborhoods practically unassimilated into the social life of the community. Many communities are a heterogeneous group of creek-hollow and river-valley neighborhoods, each with its name, consciousness, and activities. The development of social solidarity in a community quartered by ranges of hills, creeks, and rivers tends to be retarded. In flat communities, where township and school district lines are marked only by fences, the eye, sweeping the landscape, sees them all merging into one community. On the other hand, the neighborhood hemmed in by hills, develops the parochial mind.

In rough areas the development of consolidated school districts tends to be retarded. Good roads are difficult and costly to maintain. Slow horse busses are necessary, and these, in winter, deliver children to the

[3] See Gillette, J. M., *Rural Sociology*, p. 64. The Macmillan Co., 1922.
[4] Kolb, J. H., *Rural Primary Groups*. University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 51, p. 15.

various homes in the twilight hours. Cuts drift full of snow, keeping many country children imprisoned at home.

SEASONAL FLUCTUATION OF RURAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Programs are worked out and planned with reference to hot, cold, and temperate seasons. Rural activity is largely dormant in late February and March when the roads are bad, but takes on renewed activity in April and May. The farmer's energy and vitality are directly affected by the season in more ways than the city man's. The city man works indoors, and at a kind of work which does not shift with the seasons. Thus the action of heat and cold on his body, or the incidence of the long arduous work days in summer upon his energy, does not register an effect comparable to its reaction on the farmer.

Season has a considerable influence in the periodicity of rural activities. A curve of attendance at church or lodge, where attendance is largely voluntary, will show a rise from blustery March to July, when hot weather and fatiguing harvest days begin to exert their debilitating effect. From September to December, there is a rise in the attendance. After this, attendance falls off very rapidly, owing to bad roads. The following chart of the attendance of an Iowa country church shows the influence of season.

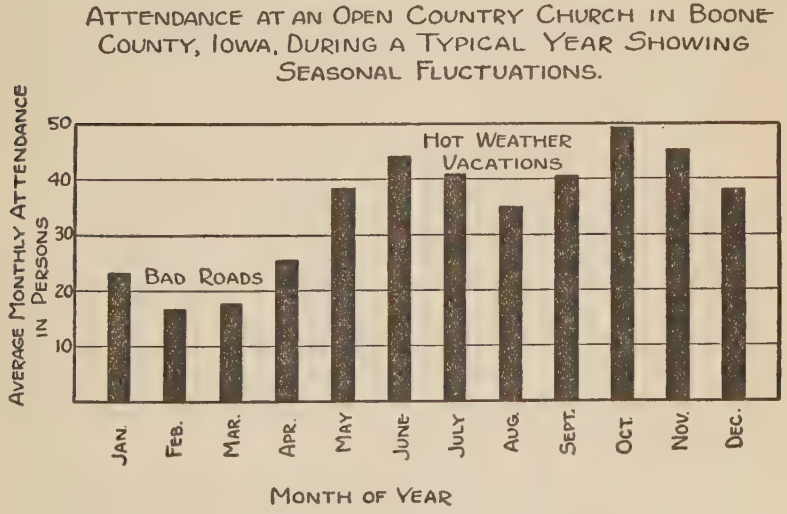

FIGURE 25
Influence of Seasons on Iowa Social Life

MAN IS GRADUALLY GAINING ASCENDENCY OVER TOPOGRAPHY

Several forces are bringing this about man's ascendency over topography.

1. The development of highway engineering and machines for handling dirt. In rough countries road systems can be replanned so that a few cuts and fills can reduce the grades sufficiently to permit the hauling of heavy loads by auto and truck. With a few roads of this character, which are rapidly appearing in rough sections of the corn belt under the primary-road system, the automobile can open up arteries of traffic and association. Townships were too limited in engineering equipment and finances to perform the herculean task of building roads for first-class traffic. But under a State Highway Commission, the funds, talent, and equipment have been available to master these more difficult sections.

2. Scientific agriculture tends to reduce the differential between rough and level sections rather than to increase it. Many precipitous hills in Western Iowa, that were once barren and eroded wastes, are now blossoming with a heavy crop of sweet clover and alfalfa. These legumes thrive nearly as well on hills as on bottom land. With a sufficiency of low and more fertile areas for corn, the farm provides a ration for live stock feeding.

3. Implements are now being equipped with attachments for hill-side farming. It is likely that the topographic element will be mastered to such an extent that it will be a minor factor in the future socialization of rural communities.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Show how climate and topography influence socialization. What is meant by the selective influence of topography and climate?
2. What was Buckle's thesis as to the influence of physical geography on the evolution of human civilization?
3. Is physical geography an important factor within more or less limited areas? Is this influence becoming more or less pronounced with the development of transportation, communication, and motor power?
4. What is meant by seasonal activities?
5. Select communities in the United States where a hilly topography has produced a backward civilization. Where climate has retarded social progress. Why are rural populations affected more by these physical factors than urban populations?

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CHAPTER IX

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION AS FACTORS IN SOCIALIZATION

RELATION OF CIVILIZATION TO COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

Roads, telephones, radios, automobiles, and electric lines are to the social organism what arteries and nerves are to the body. The fabric of modern civilization is built upon rapid transit and communication. Let our lines of transport and communication be paralyzed but for a year, and society would revert to the primitive. Art, science, language, and social groups of the more cultural form cannot adequately develop in a society whose parts are insulated by distance.

Society has advanced with the growth of modern systems of rapid transit. Primitive and backward communities are lacking in communication and transportation. Where the ox-cart and burro are the means of transport, and cow-paths are the arteries of communication, we have superstition, ignorance, suspicion, and feuds. Much social progress comes through the spread of new ideas from one section to another by imitation and suggestion. The heritage of culture passes into the "Great Society" through the vehicle of books, railroads, and telephones. Civilization may perish even with efficient communication and transportation. It would surely perish without them.

INFLUENCE OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION UPON THE EVOLUTION OF RURAL SOCIETY

In the first place, as regards social progress, transportation and communication are equivalent to density of population. Density of population has always been considered necessary for the generation of human contacts, for it was thought that the greater number of contacts in thickly populated areas stimulated the human mind to progress, invention, and assimilation of knowledge. Studies in Europe called attention to the fact that sparsely-settled country districts were not one-tenth as fertile in the production of eminent men of letters as the cities. However, to secure an augmentation of social contacts in this way, it is necessary to accept over-population with

the resulting fall in the standard of life. China and India have density, but therewith the abject poverty which hinders the socialization of the masses. City populations, dense enough for optimum socialization, exhibit symptoms of de-socialization in their crime, divorce, poverty, and delinquency rates. Such a method of fostering human contacts—putting people in such compact masses that they cannot escape one another—is fraught with many dangers. It is better to increase social density by narrowing the time-space, through quicker transportation and communication, than to decrease the distance-space by closer living. So far as the socialization process is concerned, the result, in either case, is exactly the same. To live within walking distance of 10,000 people makes housing congested, forces unsought human contacts, and sacrifices due privacy. Quadruple the rapidity of transportation and with a density only $\frac{1}{16}$th as great you will still have access to the same number of people.

In the second place, transportation means the liberation from the limitations of the locality or neighborhood. With ox-cart or buggy, the farmer was limited to the association of his neighbors, whether they were congenial or not. His social contacts, perforce, had to be secured within a radius of two or three miles. A survey of six Western Iowa[1] communities revealed the fact that the per capita contacts in the small hamlet were very few; yet the social contacts of the farmers in this territory, considered as individuals, were up to normal. The only institutions that delivered much in the way of social contacts were churches and the farmers' organizations. Most of the farmers living in the trade area of this hamlet had cars and used them in securing a hundred or more contacts in other towns. Some belonged to lodges in towns of larger size twelve miles distant. Others attended chautauquas in towns fifteen miles away. Through transportation the individual escapes from the social limitations of the locality. One of the main reasons for the urban migration has been the insatiate longing for the society of groups of kindred interest, be it art, music, whist, boxing, or occult science.

In the third place, transportation and communication insure the combination of the economic advantage of the hamlet or country community with the social advantage of places outside the economic area. This phenomenon is evident in villages that are approached by the extension of city zones. With paved roads and trolley lines, the village family can trade or take jobs in the city, and yet retain the advantages of cheap rent, seclusion, and abundant space. The village tends to become a residential

[1] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library)

zone with schools, churches, and social centers, while its economic and business functions are absorbed by the city. Generally the social area expands faster than the economic area. Corn must be grown and harvested upon the farm and hauled to a place not over five miles distant. Automobiles, motor trucks, and graveled roads may extend this to 8 or 10 miles. Livestock, a more concentrated product, can command a home market range of perhaps 10 to 15 miles. Beyond these distances the cost of transportation becomes serious. Most of the economic operations, because of this close relation of agriculture to the soil, must be tied to the demand-locality. On the other hand, the social area can reach to 15 or 20 miles, since the expense of driving a few extra miles with four or five people is a small item, save in winter. Through improved transportation the economic advantages of a farm that has good soil and drainage protection can be combined with the social advantages of a town 15 miles distant. If its social advantages were limited to a run-down neighborhood, its sale value would be greatly depressed. The lack of school, social, and church facilities often hurts the sale value of farms that have rich soils and high economic returns. The same farm in an area with first-class educational, social, and religious facilities would sell readily for $50 an acre advance. Rapid transit narrows the differentials between farms favorably and unfavorably situated as to social advantages.

In the fourth place, improved transportation removes dangers of the small socialization area. Community number 3, a hamlet in Western Iowa,[2] had 94 social contacts per capita as compared to 106, 153, and 114 for nearby village communities numbers 4, 5, and 1, respectively. Since the automobile enabled them to secure 20-30 percent of their contacts from other towns, the individuals in this hamlet community received, on the average, as many social contacts as those in the larger village communities. Because the automobile places farmers within reach of well-developed communities, the small area is confronted with a depletion of its remaining talent and leadership.

In various agricultural states we witness the phenomena of decaying neighborhoods and disintegrating neighborhood institutions. In thousands of instances the small neighborhood is in the process of dissolution because of the superior attractions of the village. Such neighborhood events as husking-bees, spelling-schools, cross-road stores, and country camp-meetings are a thing of the past in most regions. They will be revived only as parts of a community recreational program.

It is evident that an area comprising 50 to 75 families will have too

[2] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

few who are interested in educational, social, and religious work to make a success of any organization. In any population a large percentage have developed only the more materialistic interests of life, and are, thus, indifferent to the more social and cultural activities. They can be relied upon occasionally to help furnish an audience, but not to take a vital and active part in leadership and programs. Only a handful sing, debate, or entertain. On the other hand, a community comprising 1000 people will have a plentiful stock of leaders and performers. Studies in Southeastern Ohio [3] show a high fatality among the churches that have too small an area. The small neighborhood church, according to the laws of probabilities, will have too few leaders and workers. The automobile has made it unnecessary to work with small areas of organization. More research work is needed to determine what is the optimum unit or area of social organization which will give the maximum number of standard social contacts per capita. A club, community association, or church of 2500 is too large for intimate acquaintanceship and face-to-face association. It has to be divided into sections and groups. An organization with from 200 to 500 members is large enough in most cases to secure specialized leadership, abundant talent, and adequate financial support.

In the fifth place, rapid transportation extends the range of rural talent. The larger automobile area of socialization with 1000 to 8000 people generally expands the chance for musical, dramatic, and speaking ability. The same program in the larger area reaches two to three times as large an audience, and thus creates two to three times the amount of social utility. As long as the association is sufficiently close to maintain the "we feeling" that prevails among neighbors and comrades, larger areas mean increasing returns in social values. While an economic utility is used up by the first group that consumes it and the share of enjoyment accruing therefrom grows less with every increase in the number of users, a social utility may expand with the number of consumers. Thus the consumption of a musical program does not follow the same law as the consumption of oysters. Talent circuits, with an inter-community exchange, are one of the possibilities with automobile transport. One community works up a pageant, a neighboring one prepares a cantata, and yet another one arranges a debate. Through the talent circuit, each community enjoys all three programs, with the result that the number of social contacts is tripled. The quality of the program is improved, for each community can devote its specialized talent to its particular project. The second and

[3] *Church Growth and Decline in Ohio.* Ohio Rural Life Survey, Rural Life Department of Presbyterian Church, p. 40.

third performances are better than the first, and the net result is a triple utilization of home talent. The exchange of compliments between communities promotes a wide circle of fellowship that extends beyond the clannish confines of the neighborhood.

Finally, modern transportation makes possible an administrative area sufficiently large to permit the financing of better equipped social centers, with rest rooms, libraries, club rooms, and stages. Such devices of socialization can be just as well utilized by 2000 people as by 200 people, and much more easily paid for. Small organizations often use all their real leadership on one committee. In many cases they lack a good financier. In the larger area it is possible to have good personnel for every committee, be it publicity or finance.

Hence, the rural sociologist has a powerful instrumentality in the form of the automobile and the gravel road. It is his problem to capitalize these devices and reorganize rural activities within a larger and more promising area.

TRANSPORTATION IN ITS RELATION TO THE BREAKING-UP OF RURAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE DECLINE OF COUNTRY VILLAGES

The uncritical lay-mind has mistaken the shift of the center of social gravity from neighborhood to community as rural decadence, assuming that rural civilization, at its best, cannot be maintained in the village, and that rural society can be built nowhere except in the cornfield. The narrow exclusive spirit of the clan actuated this viewpoint rather than the broad community spirit. There is no occasion for rural life to retreat after a "brush" in the country town with city life. Many of the ideals of rural life, which gave it its peculiar vigor and virility, should be given a chance to vitalize the city. Rural life owes no apology for its standards, customs, or philosophies of life when compared with much that is called city civilization. The fusion of urban and rural in the small town, and the assimilation of neighborhoods into communities, are the natural and logical processes of social evolution. As this process develops, the finest institutions of the old pioneer life will emerge in the community to aid in its tasks of socialization.

One of the notable phenomena of rural life, and one which has attracted much attention, has been the loss of population in rural villages and the abandonment of open-country organizations. The pendulum has swung cityward until the nation is dominated by city standards of education, success, and living. The pressure of population has been toward the large

center, and unless the human race meets there its "Waterloo," falling victim to the degeneracies, vices, and dissipations which corroded the Roman Republic, we should see the pendulum swing countryward. Then there will be a turning of attention of the nation's thinkers to the possibilities of rural civilization. Every nation has witnessed a period when the tide of migration was cityward. Not only did people migrate, leadership and society emigrated also. At first rural institutions succumb to the glamour of city institutions, unless undeveloped communication guards the rural neighborhood—with a wall of isolation. Thus we witness a continual decline in the prestige and leadership of rural civilization. But certain factors soon make their appearance and turn the tide. Many virile leaders find it difficult to find a niche in urban society, and so turn to the rural field. And, today, there are a dozen with college training who seek positions of leadership where there was one, half a century ago. While a few decades ago high-school training was exceptional, now one-fifth to one-quarter of the younger farmers in the corn belt have attended high school. With leadership-training courses being introduced in college and in short courses, with rural leadership and social work becoming popular even among city leaders and students, a new day will soon dawn for country life.

The census has revealed the fact that not only have village and open country marked time, and in many sections shown losses in population, but that people have migrated from both country and village to the larger urban centers. Part of this shift has been due to the fact that one farmer today is as efficient and produces more than four farmers did a century ago. As a matter of fact, the farmer has, in 10 years, increased 17 percent in the efficiency of cereal production. Thus, in the production of the 1919-1920 crop, which was by 15 percent larger than the crop of 1910, there were only 10,659,000 farm workers used, while the smaller crop of 1910 required the services of 12,386,000 farm workers.

The census [4] also shows that from 1910 to 1920, 1000 counties, mostly rural, declined in population. At the same time the smaller towns and villages failed to retain their proportion of the nation's people. The disintegration of open-country institutions, once aglow with religious, educational, and social life, has reached, in many sections, its final stages. In such areas the church at the cross-roads and the little white schoolhouse are extinct.

Now such a decline of open-country institutions is incident to our

[4] *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920.* U. S. Census Monograph, p. 69.

shift from the horse-and-wagon community to the automobile community. We have thought of communities in terms of space-dimension and have failed to think of them in terms of time-dimension. "Thirty-minute communities," or those which could be crossed in one-half hour, have undergone, and will undergo, a wonderful expansion. The following diagram illustrates this principle:

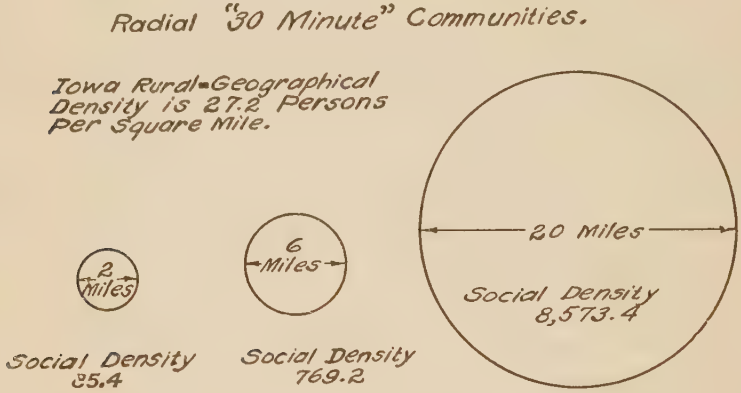

Radial "30 Minute" Communities.
Iowa Rural-Geographical Density is 27.2 Persons Per Square Mile.
2 Miles
6 Miles
20 Miles
Social Density 85.4
Social Density 769.2
Social Density 8,573.4
On-foot community. Diameter 2 miles.
Horse-and-buggy community. Diameter 6 miles.
The auto community. Diameter 20 or more miles.

FIGURE 26

Increase of Social Density by Improved Transportation

It is inevitable that when people can cross the ten-mile community in half an hour, they will soon take advantage of this fact to set up larger-scale organizations. Thereupon the old neighborhood institutions, corresponding to walking distance, will gradually disappear. There are hundreds of abandoned churches in Iowa alone. In the states of Ohio and Illinois, the numbers run into the thousands. Some counties are without a going open-country church, while about 2500 one-room schools have been closed. But, let us not mistake reorganization for general decline. For in spite of abandoned schoolhouses, there are more rural children in school than ever before, about four-fifths of the children of school age being in attendance. Notwithstanding deserted cross-road churches, there were more church members in rural districts in 1920 than in 1900 or 1910. A larger proportion of the American people—over one-half—belong to the church than ever before. There has merely been a shift of social relations from the small area to the large area, with an increase in the total amount of

association. People are meeting a wider range of associates, social situations, and cultures than ever before in rural history. The essence of the phenomenon is redistribution of areas of social allegiance and institutional affiliations.

Will the economic institutions of the small village-center resist the industrial suction of the larger city-center? Must the village stores, banks, and other commercial concerns be swept into the maelstrom of large-scale city business? Will the big department store drive the small-town store out of business? What economic enterprises will, by their very nature, persist in the small centers? Why do grain elevators, shipping points for livestock, lumber yards, depots, post offices, banks, grocery stores, implement concerns, etc., resist city competition much better than jewelry shops, clothing stores, or notion stores?

Certain industries and businesses, by their very nature, seem fitted to operate more advantageously in the small village than in the large town. Grain must be marketed within 12 miles of the farm to prevent excessive marketing expense. Livestock can be hauled somewhat farther, since it is less bulky in proportion to its value. It is mainly in the summer months that the long haul causes higher mortality and heavier shrinkage. Only where the farm is 30 to 60 miles from a terminal livestock market, will the auto truck rob the small town of its trade. If even one-half of the farms contribute their grain and livestock to the nearest shipping point, the foundation exists for an elevator, livestock yards, and bank. With a "live-wire" farmers' co-operative shipping association and elevator, grain and livestock prices can, on account of the shorter haul, easily meet those of the larger center.

The local lumber and coal company handles a standardized article that, like corn, has a general market value and universal use. The commodity is bulky enough to make transportation an item, and can be profitably carried over from year to year. Except in small villages, where the overhead is excessive, the lumber yard is holding its own. Hardware stores, grocery stores, and meat markets sell articles of which it is difficult to "lay up" a supply ahead of time or to foresee possible needs from day to day. The farmer "runs out" of spikes or breaks a tug staple; the house wife has company, and wants Mary to run down to the corner grocery store for a pound of sugar and some fresh cereal. The local store is a matter of convenience. Then, it is handy to go to the local garage when the car freezes up or needs a minor service, although it is desirable to drive to the larger center when a complete "overhaul" is needed. The small town has a place for at least one garage rendering services of a minor nature.

Furthermore, farm machinery can be bought of the large corporation at a fixed wholesale price, and sold at a fixed retail price. With this equalization of price and the face-to-face service which he can render his customer, the small-town merchant can hold an agency for a standard line of machinery. Rarely is he called upon to "tie up his money" in a large stock. Finally, rural banking belongs in the small town. The banker must know the property holdings and fluctuating financial ability of his borrower. He must understand the industrial needs of the locality. Two or three banks in the small town cause solicitation for unsafe business and excessive overhead, for, generally, only one bank can prosper in the bulk of corn-belt villages. Kolb's [5] studies in Dane County, Wisconsin, show that the small town gives as good and sometimes a better population backing to business than the larger town. Thus, towns of 301 to 500 had 1769.6 people per grocery store as compared to 1345.1 for the town of 1000 to 2000, and 753 for the city of 2001 to 6000. The figures for the garage service were 804.3, 717.4, and 1004.4, respectively. Although we may have to concede such specialized businesses as notions, jewelry, stylish clothing, musical instruments, etc., to the city community, we still have a sufficient number of economic institutions which can resist paved roads to maintain a rural town. If a great many small towns have disappeared from the map of Iowa, Illinois, and other states, it is because they were within three or four miles of another trade center, and largely owed their superfluous existence to a railway station.

The automobile, with the hard-surfaced road connecting a larger number of small points with one large one, has so intensified both social and economic competition that no institution can exist unless it renders a service that measures up to the demands of modern efficiency. Hence many industrial and economic institutions will "fade out" because they are rendering too little service for the price they exact. A paved road from a small hamlet into a large town 10 miles distant is likely to drive out most drygoods, grocery, and notion stores; for demand is capricious, and a stock large enough to give an effective range of selection is beyond the trade resources of the small village. In Story County, Iowa, during the last five years, many small villages have lost trade steadily on account of the development of gravel roads. Towns within a city's six mile zone are either stationary, declining, or waging a losing fight to retain their industrial enterprises.

One of the possibilities of the new rural age is the invasion of the

[5] Kolb, J. H., *Service Relations of Town and Country*. University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin No. 58, p. 21.

country by decentralized industry. Henry Ford and others have seen the vision of factories in small towns which would utilize, in winter, the farm labor which in one-crop areas runs to waste. In the days of costly and slow transportation, factories had to be located in close proximity to the source of raw supplies. It was, then, feasible to move labor to the factory, with the result that housing evils and congestion appeared. Such labor was inefficient and discontented. The pendulum may swing back and the factories be moved to the laborer, so that he may have the benefit of country environment. Since such work would be in the form of a "windfall," the cost of labor would be lower. Seasonal industries could use this surplus farm time so as to regularize their production. A class of resident farm laborers could be built up in place of the present drifters. With such a development the concentration of business and population in cities on account of increasing efficiency of farm production might be checked. Many farm towns and villages would, thus, have a permanent industrial basis as well as an agricultural basis. Their business would be less sensitive to the fluctuations in the prices of farm produce. Such a development would likely be limited to such industries and localities as have much winter leisure.

Will the social institutions of the village resist the city competition which modern transportation has forced? Can city society absorb village society? Is it possible for the country town to suffer industrial absorption and yet retain its identity as a social center? Such questions loom large in the minds of all those interested in the future of the rural type of mind.

In answer to this challenging question, let us consider certain specific social and economic factors which influence the adjustment of the small community in an age of long-distance travel. First, is the possibility of the village developing itself as a residential center. Thus, today, we have scores of towns that should be called educational, social, residential, and religious centers. The dominant thing is their social rather than their economic machinery. With rapid transportation it is quite feasible for a population to earn a living in one community and live in another. One of the outstanding social results of transportation is this combination of social, residential, and economic advantages. There must be a closer bond of relationship for social than for economic relations. One tends to beget the other, although people can trade without being on the same social level. While profit and consumer's surplus may induce a white man to trade with Negritos, it will not supply the "consciousness of kind" necessary for intimate social relations. The farmer may bank and trade in the city 10 miles away, but have difficulty in finding congenial social life there.

Second, many such services as education, recreation, and religion must adapt themselves to the individual. This necessity for individualizing services favors the smaller community, for while commodities such as clothes and food can be standardized for farmer and city man, and while the city store can carry lines of goods which are adaptable to farm patronage, the city church and school have difficulty in handling a rural program for a small, farmer constituency. Since social, educational, and religious programs for rural communities must be built in the area where the problems exist, local social institutions will offer much more resistance to city competition than local economic institutions. Suburban, residential villages, including nearly one-tenth of our American people, are clustering around large cities in ever increasing numbers. High rents and congestion are avoided, and car or bus fare gives cheap and ready access to Broadway. There are a large number of villages in Iowa, known as school and church communities, although they have an elevator, bank, hardware, and grocery store. The dominating interest, however, is the two or three churches or the consolidated school. Farrar, Jordan, Lawton, Gilbert, Washta, and other Iowa villages are excellent illustrations of this type of community. In Woodbury County, Iowa, there are a number of "paved-road" villages from three to twelve miles from Sioux City. Although the inhabitants trade regularly in Sioux City, they are building their own social and religious communities. Story, Polk, and other central counties have several dozen towns of this type. The pessimism over the loss of trade, when the gravel roads connect them with a small metropolis, gives place to optimism when the community begins to rise as a residential and social center.

Third, rapid transportation makes the city service accessible for improving social life in the small community. Assuming that people will drive to where there are trained singers, actors, and speakers to feature the program, it may appear that the automobile and gravel road are a malicious combination to lure people from the small town into the city. It should be realized, however, that if this combination can take people to the city to hear these entertainers, it can also bring these entertainers to the rural program at the community center, where their art can be adapted to the country type of audience, and where agricultural interests dominate. To hear professional entertainers in company with neighbors, adds more to the enjoyment than listening to them in the cold fellowship of strangers. Acquaintance and home environment greatly enhance the value of the program. This accounts for the remark often heard among farmers, that

they would rather listen with the "home folks" to a somewhat less professional, home-talent program than hear with strangers expert entertainment. Experiments in rural community work support this contention. Thus, in Woodbury County, Iowa, several country villages, thanks to paved roads and automobiles, pick choice, talent ensembles from Sioux City. In this way there is an equalization of contact opportunity between village and city, the only real danger being that this professional talent may so dominate local talent that people will lose their appreciation for home talent. By virtue, then, of the desire for fellowship in the consumption of social utilities, and the access to city talent, which rapid transportation makes possible, the smaller community can compete on a favorable basis with urban society.

Fourth, the rural community offers a society more adaptable to the farm people. Certain classes in the city are impenetrable to the farmer. The business man, who deals with his country customer through the teller's window or over the bargain counter, moves in a club or social circle that is quite exclusive, and which would not be at all congenial to the rural-minded. Since rural habits, customs, attitudes, and scales of value differ from the urban, the average farmer has a more comfortable feeling among farmers than among city clubmen or workingmen. Furthermore, in the city, the farmer who desires to lead has difficulty in finding a place for his talents; he is rather apt to "take a back seat," content himself with looking on from the side lines. City folks do not seem to care for things upon which he puts a high value. In his own community his leadership is appreciated. Again, rural ideas of success have been so consistently marked down by city society that the rural desire for social recognition is left unsatisfied. There still prevails the idea that there is something "uncouth" and "awkward" about rural society. This is why farmer participation in the small city is about 10 to 90, while in the village it is a 50 to 50 affair.

Finally, the small community can now offer all the cultural advantages which the new devices of communication bring. Much of the longing upon the part of some farmers for a taste of the gayety and glamour of city life is satiated at home by the motion picture and radio. In the "movie" he experiences dramatically and vividly the excitement of the city streets and the romances of Wall Street. Why, then, desert the small community with its congenial democracy for the melodrama of Broadway, which is already becoming cheap and familiar? Remove city life from the category of the unknown and novel, and the desire, on the part of many, to plunge headlong into the maelstrom of urban society will disappear.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION IN THEIR RELATION TO THE BREAK-UP IN CLANISM AND LOCALISM

Localism, in the form of aversion to super-government in the form of highway commissions, tax commissions, etc., still exists. Localities still feel that they must settle their road problems independent of other localities. Although one county with poor land may have double the number of children of school age that the adjoining rich area has, it must pay its own bills. Education is still viewed as a local rather than as a state or national function. State or Federal aid, insuring American children, without reference to the wealth of their particular locality, a standard education, is opposed by the advocates of localism. Although one county on a primary road may vote pavement, another gravel, and another mud, so that an autoist may have to "don and doff" mud chains several times in a hundred-mile trip, the spirit of local self-determination persists. But where, thanks to modern transportation and communication, ideas mingle and the mind breathes the larger air, these local prejudices and attitudes disappear. Areas of administration are widening, and state commissions are making their appearance to standardize the roads, taxes, and relief for the poor. Clan spirit is becoming unpopular, and the tide is running for community churches.

In-and-in breeding, with resulting neighborhoods of mental defectives, tends to give way with improved communication and transportation. With the influx of strangers and the more rapid shift of population, old neighborhood feuds are disappearing. Local dialects, customs, and superstitions, developed by the immigration of diverse European races, and which twenty years ago distinguished the rural people, are now dissolving into a common American culture. In many rural communities the farmer comes frequently into contact with city life, and if he is of youthful mind, readily assimilates this culture. A group of farmers appearing on a college campus or in a city hotel are likely to be dressed in up-to-date clothes. City ways and life are no longer a novelty or a mystery to them.

COMMUNICATION AND THE DISSEMINATION OF CULTURE IN SOCIETY

One result of communication and transportation which has great possibilities in the way of democratizing science and knowledge, is the extension of cheap but effective education to the masses. The time is rapidly approaching when culture will no longer be the mark of privileged aristocracy. Literature, books, libraries, and newspapers have been put within the reach

of the poorest home, whereas a few centuries ago only the well-to-do could even buy access to padlocked books. During the past city centers have been the seat of libraries, museums, and institutions of higher learning. Doubtless this was why French men of letters came overwhelmingly from urban centers where their literary instincts were stimulated by contact with culture. Rural districts have, in the past, been rather insulated from the general cultural stream except for the little eddies set up by the few farmer boys who had visited these centers of knowledge. Most of the rural people developed their educational and cultural horizon from the one-room country school, or from the minister, the lawyer, or the doctor in the cross-roads village who gave them an indirect contact with higher education. Before our eyes the new communication is so rapidly and cheaply disseminating culture that the old educational disparity between country and city is vanishing. The bulk of the college students once came from within a radius of less than fifty miles. But ere long the college will be almost entirely delocalized by fast and economical transportation. Dozens of colleges are broadcasting public radio lectures on scientific subjects over an entire state. For example, a university lecture is probably heard over several thousand radios, if it deals with some vital subject well advertised and of general interest. Even now college courses are offered "via radio." Sears-Roebuck have recently installed a radio-broadcasting station which will give agricultural extension talks. Within a year several 5000-watt superpower stations have appeared in the United States. Continuation schools can be conducted by the pick of teachers who are expert in their subjects. The professor who lectures to twenty students may also be heard by several thousand invisible auditors, while a state may become a classroom which is attended by those who are interested in and appreciate the subject. The high cost of education, largely resultant from the heavy cost of residence and the high over-head expense of teaching in smaller groups, will be enormously reduced except for the advanced graduate work which can thrive only in small, face-to-face groups.

Although some educators see the atrophy of mental imagery, a large amount of scientific information will be disseminated by educational films, which can be printed in quantities and distributed to rural communities by the visual-instruction departments of universities. The growth, the flowering, and the fruiting of plants taken over a period of months with the "glass eye" that misses nothing is so "speeded up" that the audience can see within a few seconds the complete growth-cycle. Waves, movements in bacterial solutions, flights of projectiles, circulation of fluids and animal blood, vibrations of plates and strings, and other processes too rapid for

the eye to follow, will be retarded by the slow camera so that rural audiences may see every process in detail. The films, produced at great expense as far as the original is concerned, can be so multiplied in their effect that the cost to any one observer is negligible. Old, musty volumes, dealing with ancient history, and moldering in the library, will live through the motion-picture drama to extend the time-range of social contacts. Astronomy, botany, bacteriology, and physics, as well as the social sciences, will be made vital and interesting to the unscientific public. Neither city nor country can monopolize either this great equalizing agent of visual instruction or the knowledge that rides the all-pervasive air. Coupled with the gradual increase of leisure time, these new agencies for broadcasting knowledge bid fair to usher in an educational epoch, such as even the most sanguine and visionary of educators have never dreamed of.

Radio is extending culture and entertainment to many isolated farm homes. During the long, cold winter evenings, when the air is free from static, 38,500 Iowa farm homes can listen to noted preachers, lecturers from prominent universities, dance orchestras, vaudeville, and grand opera. Radios are a little more expensive than telephones but not as expensive as pianos, automobiles, or phonographs. Furthermore, new records do not have to be purchased for the radio. The musical taste of the countryside will improve until it will not be content with the inferior. With this cultivation of wants and tastes on the part of millions, where only thousands had them before, an unprecedented demand for all types of educational lectures, sermons, music, and art will come.

Finally, the development of hard roads and air transport will tend to bring thousands of farm homes within easy reach of institutions of learning. By airplane people may attend lectures or programs a hundred miles away and return the same day. Whether the sound association of the radio will substitute for the sight-and-sound association brought about by transportation is a question for human psychology.

Chapin [6] presents vividly and graphically the part which modern communication and transportation play in our present-day social economy, and something of the extent of its evolution. The passenger movement in 1910 was 32,388,870,444 miles. It furnished transportation for 998,735,432 persons. "In 1915, there were 56,380 post offices, and mail routes with a total mileage of 433,334. . . . From 1850 to 1909, the per capita circulation of periodicals increased from 18 to 129, which means that the average American now receives seven times as many periodicals as in 1850. . . . The influences that have revolutionized the life of country folk

[6] Chapin, F. S., *Social Economy*, pp. 237-243. The Century Co., 1917.

are found within the limits of the new communication. About twenty million country people received mail over forty thousand odd mail routes during 1909. . . . The farmer and his boys are now able to discuss intelligently the great interests of humanity. This broadens and enriches their lives to an incalculable degree, and prevents mental stagnation. . . . With the coming of the rural telephone, distant neighbors are brought nearer, and the family circle is widened. The dreary winter months are not as monotonous as formerly, for association by the distinctly personal element of the human voice is now possible without actual visiting. . . . Telephone service now extends over the whole globe. In 1911, there were 11,235,987 telephone stations sending 26,644,367 messages over the wire. . . . Since 1893, the number of daily messages and conversations has increased over ten-fold. . . . Under the caption, *The Future Home Theater,* Mr. S. Gilfillian has anticipated the social effects of the 'talking-motion-picture' in a somewhat prophetic article. He believes that the talking-motion-picture and the electric-vision apparatus connected with the telephone will eventually become so inexpensive that the apparatus will be installed in every house, like the country telephone, so that one may go to the theater without leaving home."

Through communication and transportation the vista of a new social age opens up. In a realistic and vivid way, never before dreamed of, the past will be transmitted to the task of socializing the present. The melody of Caruso and the eloquence of Bryan will reach the ears of the next generation. The culture of Napoleon will not compare with the "dirt farmer" of 1940, as measured in terms of knowledge of the world and events, past and present.

COMMUNICATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTEREST GROUPS

In ancient society association followed the blood-bond. This type of association looked after pairing, protection, transmission of tradition, religion, and a family economy. The blood-bond, while close, was not favorable to the development of intellectual and social interests. Tradition, ritual, ancestor worship, and patriarchal dominance were institutions which naturally arose under this form of social organization to impede the free expression of the individual. From too much inbreeding of ideals and customs, culture became narrow. Conditions outside the clan, such as law, and government, were unstable. The individual could only be guaranteed his right through his strict loyalty to the family. Land tillage caused clans and families gradually to become attached to locality so that the local bond

supplemented the blood-bond. Isolated, the two bonds worked together in social evolution with the reinforcement of such elements as provincialism, common socializing environment, language, religion, and tradition. The local clans were also common interest groups of a narrow, centripetal order, since the imitation of ancestors and the power of the patriarch compelled uniformity to a set of traditional interests. Certainly, they were not such free interest groups as would give expression to the personality of the participant.

Such grouping is primitive and does not offer a wide range of stimulating human contacts. The hope of the modern age is the growth of interest and cultural grouping by free choice, so that there are as many specialized groups as there are special interests to cultivate. While economic, consanguineal, racial, and occupational groupings have dominated the sociology of the past century, interest and culture grouping will dominate the next century. "Birds of a feather flock together," *when they have a chance.* Automobiles and airplanes on the side of transportation, and newspapers, telephones, and radios on the side of communication offer the opportunity to organize thousands of specialized interest groups. For successful interest-grouping a large area must be organized. Such interests as music, which are general, can be organized on a much smaller area than Shakespearean societies or botanical clubs. One or two people in a community of a thousand people might be interested in astronomy or philosophy, but they are not able to form a club. By combining the kindred astronomical and philosophical spirits of a dozen communities, a society could be formed. Thus, many interests are organized on a country-wide scope, such as the Ministerial Associations, Medical Societies, Bar Associations, Bankers' Associations, Bee Keepers' Associations, Library Associations, which take on the same types and characteristics as similar interest-groups in the city. One of the potent reasons for the migration of the educated to the city, has been the under-development of specialized interest-groups in the rural districts. During the last ten years there has been a very rapid invasion of rural districts by special interests. Thousands of calf clubs, pig clubs, garden clubs, garment clubs, canning clubs, etc., have been organized in rural districts in Iowa. Upwards of half a million American boys and girls have been enrolled in project clubs. A list of the interests prevailing in society, with the corresponding rural organizations that have grown out of these interests, reveals the potency of the movement.

The Parental-Educational Interest
Parent-Teacher's Associations

The Study Interest—Intellectual and Occupational
- Study clubs
- Soils study
- Corn study
- Poultry study
- Home-making
- Nature study, etc.

Recreational Interest
- Hiking clubs
- Auto clubs
- Dancing clubs
- Music associations
- Athletic associations

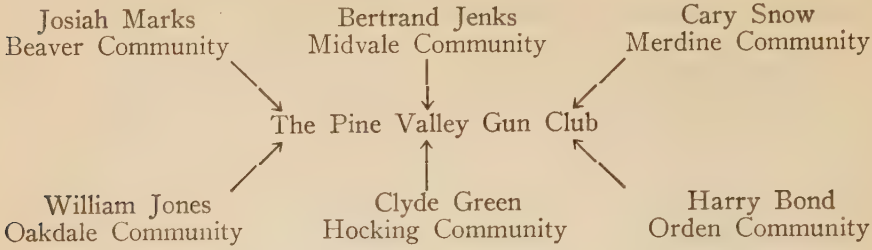
Charity, Philanthropy
- Social service leagues

Several elements are necessary for the organization of society on the basis of interests.

1. A sufficient number of interested people, from one to two dozen, must be easily and regularly gotten together. If they live far apart the transportation and communication facilities must be excellent. While some interests can be developed locally, others can only have an inter-community or inter-county area. In pioneer days with slow transportation, this was impossible.

2. Material must be reasonable, accessible, and economical to foster these interests. Slides, lectures, literature, books, and speakers dealing with the subject, must be easily obtainable for the group. Slide services of college extension departments, radios which send out certain special lectures, traveling libraries, etc., make such a service possible.

As has been previously noted, interest-grouping, which cuts across class and occupational grouping, will bring a gradual revolution in social alignments. City interest-groups, linking with the corresponding interest-groups in the rural districts, may efface the contrast between the urban and rural mind. Interest-groups and fraternal affiliations may weaken the antagonism between labor and capitalist, or between farmer and townsman. Inter-community organizations will appear as well as intra-community organizations. Let us center our attention on the few main interests in a rural community, which should have an organized expression, which foretell another social development through communication, and which mean a larger and more variegated flow of social contacts. In many communities it is easy to observe the formation of interest-groups and the weakening to that extreme of local association as is illustrated below:



COMPETITION OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

Through transportation of people to social situations, programs, and socializing agencies, we secure human contacts. Through communication we reverse the order and transport the socializing situation to the person. The automobile makes it easy for people to travel to the lecture, and the radio makes it easy for the lecture to travel to the people. It is the long-range contact versus the face-to-face contact. The race is between the airplane, the automobile, and the trolley on one hand, and the telephone, "movie," and radio on the other.

Farmers in Iowa listen to scholarly sermons and paid choirs in the large city where the budget is $20,000 a year. Will they come to the small village church with its budget of $2000 when, by merely tuning in on the right wave length, they can enjoy the dissertations of high-salaried city clerygmen? Such a question is of much concern to the rural pastor. Will the local program of drama and music be patronized when the farmer can tune in on grand opera, professional city orchestras, or military band? Will the airplane take people, from over an entire state, back and forth to college, so that they may retain residence in their home town while securing an education, or will the radio broadcast the college course to them?

No doubt, for certain types of association, the radio will dominate, and, for others, the automobile and airplane will dominate. Listening to radio concerts does not give a chance for self-expression in leadership nor does it develop home talent. Without the development of talent, which to a large extent depends upon face-to-face appreciation and applause, the source of radio programs will dry up. They should stimulate, rather than diminish, the local demand for speaking and music. Interest and musical groups at home will use the radio to make their program complete, to give it the right proportion of professional talent to local amateur talent. On some evening an apiarist may lecture over the radio to a hundred bee clubs, yet each club will want to come together to discuss the lecture and to add local color with their own program.

Furthermore, professional talent, even though superior, will not "draw" like home talent. Not only do parents like to hear their children and those of their neighbors perform; *they like to perform themselves.*

Much socialization comes through active participation in groups as leader or co-operator rather than through the passive absorption of impressions. Much of the value of the social contact comes in the rapid give-and-take of rounded personalities. Without a background of biography and past acquaintance, complete and satisfactory sociability cannot be developed. Not only over the radio, but in large audiences, this human touch is wanting; so it is not likely that communication will make any serious inroads upon local face-to-face groups in the near future.

The farmer does not look upon the car as a luxury, as does the city man who lives near the trolley-line, but regards it as a necessary part of his business equipment. Machinery breaks, necessitating a hurried trip to the blacksmith; supplies are needed for the harvest gang; the cream must be delivered; yet a full day must be given to field work. During the day the horses are at work; at night they are tired. A Ford car, costing less than a team of horses and buggy, renders this service efficiently and conveniently.

A survey conducted by the writer in Monona County during the year of 1920 showed that this county had 3400 cars—one for every five persons—and not one car in 20 exceeding $1200 in cost. Tabulations of car users revealed the fact that the average farmer drove his car 3500 miles a year at an expense varying from 5¢ to 8¢ per mile. The people of this county drove 11,900,000 miles in 1920, spent 745,000 hours on the road, and expended $680,000 in the operation of automobiles. In this same area the average farm family spent, annually, about 219 hours in their car. This expenditure for cars greatly exceeded the county school tax, showing that this kind of transportation makes a greater bid for the farmer's dollar than does education. Most of this mileage was in the form of short trips to the neighbors and to town. As nearly as could be estimated, about half of the mileage was attributed to business trips. Considering this, not over one-half of the automobile-operating bill should be charged to the family living expenses.

Farmers took from six to twelve longer trips each year, which carried them beyond the confines of their community into other counties. Ten to fifteen percent of the people took annual vacation tours in their cars, lasting from a few days to several months. A month's trip to the mountains would be beyond the means of the farm family if railroad fares and hotel bills had to be paid for the four or five members; but, with a car

and a camping outfit, the expense is greatly reduced. In this connection the large number of farmers who make annual fishing trips to the Northern lakes is notable.

One of the social activities that has grown out of car travel, has been the Wednesday-and-Saturday-night trade festival. On these summer nights the bands play, and the "movies" furnish entertainment. Stores are open; bargain counters are stocked; sometimes the banks are open. Hundreds of cars, carrying the farm families of the surrounding trade areas, flock into town to trade, to gossip, to listen to the concerts, and to see the movies. Counts made of the number of cars in several small villages showed as high as 125 cars parked in the town square. Here we have, on a small scale, the crowding and milling populace of the city thoroughfare. Women sit in cars and visit, while young folks parade the streets; men gather in knots to discuss weather, crops, farm operations, and markets. Larger towns and cities have this same phenomenon, except that in these more populous places, a greater percentage of the town people mingle with the throng. On Sunday morning farm families arise late after their Saturday revel, to make a tardy appearance at church. Sunday picnicing in family groups has become quite the summer custom.

In the area surveyed, practically every farmer was on a free mail delivery route and had a telephone. These telephones were used from three to four times a day on the average. In Lone Tree Township 74 percent of the farmers had telephones. During the long winter evenings the radio is the great entertainer, as is attested to by the fact that, in one rural township, many farm families sat up until one o'clock A.M., to listen to a dozen radio programs. Markets, weather, and news give the farmer an economic reason for the radio as a supplement to its social and educational value. Something like 8.5 percent of American farm homes have radio sets, while it has been estimated that 20,000,000 people heard the inaugural address of President Coolidge. Through the use of central exchanges and low toll rates, farmers quite frequently use the long-distance telephone to communicate. The universal testimony of farm families in Monona County was that telephones and automobiles had greatly reduced the number of old-fashioned visits, by increasing the number of short telephone-visits and shopping-day contacts. When business calls are few, or the men are in the field, many farm women visit over the telephone. Programs, sewing demonstrations, and club meetings are arranged and talked over in this way. If the date must be changed, the entire neighborhood gets the announcement. A few hours' notice

may serve to call an entire neighborhood to hear an itinerant speaker or troupe.

THE COUNTRY ROAD; ITS IMPORTANCE AND ITS FUTURE

Next to the problem of markets and taxes, roads occupy a very important place in the farmer's consciousness. While the city man has little to do with roads except on vacation trips or outings, the farmer is confronted with roads practically every day in the year. To him highways are a limiting factor in his social life, his educational problem, his marketing, his land price, and his cost of production. Year in and year out, he has his battle with the road. "How are the roads?" is a stock query in the country. With the arrival of the automobile the road becomes a more pressing problem, for roads that were "fair" for the horse traveling at eight miles per hour are "bad" for the car traveling at twenty-five miles per hour. Every bump and rut is magnified many fold. Mud reduces buggy speed two or three miles per hour, but reduces automobile speed ten or fifteen miles per hour.

The social loss from bad roads has never been estimated. There can be little doubt that bad roads reduce the attendance at churches, clubs, and social centers from one-half to two-thirds. Because of impassable roads, thousands of social contacts are lost every year.

The economic loss has been more accurately determined. Thus, on the main-traveled highways of a state, the extra expense of operating a car on ordinary, unimproved roads for five years, will pay for paving. Many conservative estimates show that the extra operating cost for a car necessitated by rutty, dirt roads will range from $25 to $50 per year. When hundreds of thousands of cars are involved, this seemingly small amount grows into stupendous figures. It is not a question of affording good roads; it is a question of affording bad roads.

The realization of the economic and social waste of bad roads is stimulating comprehensive and scientific programs of road-building which bode well for the future of the country road. Main traveled roads connecting towns, counties, and states are passing from the jurisdiction of hundreds of local officials into the hands of state highway commissions. License fees, gasoline taxes, and bond issues are creating large funds for a well co-ordinated and scientifically built system of state primary roads. Within a comparatively few years such states as Illinois will be literally "criss-crossed" in every "nook and cranny" with hard-surfaced roads. Engineering experiment stations have made substantial progress in de-

veloping effective and economical road building machinery and discovering durable materials for highway construction. The modern man, surrounded by the 20th-century social and economic civilization, is not likely to tolerate 19th-century roads much longer. We have every right to look forward, within our generation, to the time when millions of farm homes will be closely woven into the fabric of our modern society, and when rural families will be full participants in all the economic, educational, and social services which modern civilization can render.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. How many of our institutions of civilization would fail to function without modern communication and transportation? Show the influence of transportation upon the transition from a clan society to a civil society.
2. Distinguish between geographical density and sociological density. To secure the contacts necessary to progress, is it necessary to strive for a large population and a high physical density? What was List's argument for increased population density?
3. What are some of the social effects of rapid transit and easy communication? Do paved roads sound the doom of the small town? What services rendered by the small town are likely to survive the direct competition of the city? Will such services as that of church, club, and social center be organized upon a larger or smaller population basis than such services as that of surgery, watch repairing, or tailoring? Explain.
4. Trace the evolution of the "thirty-minute" community. Distinguish between the space-community and the time-community.
5. Is there a tendency for decentralized industry to invade the country? Why? Do farmers find profitable employment the entire year?
6. Relate communication to the dissemination of culture. To what extent is communication effacing such old social landmarks as dialects, folkways, etc.? Why is the poor man of today living far above the wealthy man of the 16th century psychically?
7. What new groupings are likely to be established by modern communication? Will the future America be composed of rural dwellers but city workers? Why?
8. Relate interest-grouping to communication.
9. The airplane will make it easy for students over an entire state to assemble at college; the radio will make it easy for them to receive

classroom lectures at home. Which will prevail? Will radios spell ruin for the church, the sermon, and the chorus in the small town?

10. Work out a system of transportation for a rural community that will put every home in close touch with every other home. Which is the easier to move—the farmer to town or the town to the farmer?

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CHAPTER X

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTOR IN SOCIALIZATION—FATIGUE

WHAT DEPENDS UPON FREEDOM FROM FATIGUE

Socialization depends upon both expression and impression. Neither prospers when the brain is clogged with the poisons of fatigue. Senses are dulled, attention lags, and a state of apathy ensues. A tired, fatigued audience is not keenly receptive to sermons, debates, or dramas. Much of the success of a program, play, or a club event depends upon the enthusiasm and the inspirational atmosphere of the performers. If, then, muscles and brains lethargic with fatigue toxins do not respond to their best efforts, failure results.

The tired, fatigued farmer tends to neglect his official duties as a leader of different organizations in order to retire at an early hour. The tired wife remains at home to rest rather than to get the children ready for the community meeting. Fatigue is a foe to socialization, since it paralyzes the very medium through which impressions come and expressions go.

With a people suffering from the oppression of fatigue, there can be little carried out in the way of cultural activities. Most farmers who were interviewed by the writer in his Western Iowa trip stated that they did little reading during the work season. Their energy was so nearly absorbed in their day's work that they had to forego community programs, socials, and entertainments. There was a distinct falling off of social contacts during the seasons of fatiguing, arduous toil. To attain the highest degree of social efficiency, society must have a fund of leisure time and surplus energy.

NATURE OF FATIGUE

It has only been in recent times that scientific study has been made of the psychology, physiology, and chemistry of fatigue. Scientific management and factory welfare work have brought the phenomenon of fatigue to the foreground. Its connection with disease, health, and accidents, was noted along with its relation to long hours, monotony, unsanitary

surroundings, and incorrect methods in handling materials. Fatigue was also found to bear close relation to the length and frequency of the rest periods.

All activity of whatsoever character breaks down the tissues. In the process of oxidation—which ensues from muscular or nervous activity —there is liberated such poisonous by-products as sarcolactic acid, monopotassium phosphate, carbon dioxide, etc. These accumulate under prolonged exertion faster than the eliminatory organs can expel them. They produce much nervousness, lack of control, poorness of vision, paralysis, and death. Note how pigeons on prolonged flights across the sea will, through imperfect vision, dash themselves against the cliff. Note how hunted hares and native runners will drop dead of heart poisoning by fatigue toxins. When the body, weakened by fatigue, has a low resistance, colds, influenza, and fevers invade it. Old age, with its hardening of cell walls and shrinkage of the protoplasm, is speeded through the presence of fatigue products. A fatigued muscle shows acid by a litmus test, while the injection of a tissue solution of the muscles of a tired dog into the arteries of a fresh dog brings about fatigue. Such injections into pigeons puts them to sleep after a time. Futurist chemists and physiologists predict an eventual fatigue antitoxin which, when hypodermically injected into the blood and tissues, would neutralize the toxin of fatigue and restore freshness. At present, we must be content to use measures which retard the onset of fatigue, and which tend to rapidly diminish its effect.

In the case of the nerves, fatigue shows up slowly and is gradual in its onset, but, at the same time, the cerebral and nervous mechanism is slowest to recover its former elasticity and vigor. The insidious effect of brain fag steals into the nervous system so stealthily that the subject is scarcely aware of it. Hitherto, nerve fatigue was typical of the high-strung, hurrying business man with his financial worries. The pioneer farmer had little capital, credit, or worrisome business relations. He invested little else than his own physical force, sleeping easily and naturally. Today, the farmer is a business man dealing with costs, credits, mortgages, and profit margins, so that nervous fatigue is rapidly becoming one form of rural fatigue. The incidence of fatigue is heaviest upon the very people who would naturally lead social activities. Such people, with high strung nervous temperaments, tend not only to take on a multiplicity of duties but also to throw themselves without stint into their work. The farmer who works on farm bureau committees, school boards, and church boards is usually the one with a large farm

business that requires much mental work. Discouragement comes easily to the overworked and frayed nerves of the leader. People seem dull and unappreciative of his services.

THE EFFECTS OF FATIGUE

Most rural programs are held at the end of the day when people are tired. The church service is held the morning after a fatiguing Saturday night session of shopping and visiting upon the streets.

The success of the program depends on the ability to carry over a surplus of energy from the day's work in the field or kitchen. It is noteworthy that among leaders, fatigue brings about a fatal neglect of details and indifference to obligations, while in the audience fatigue brings inertia, inattention, and waning of enthusiasm. The leaders who are most energetic and ambitious are the ones who labor to the point of exhaustion. With several dozen duplicating organizations manned by half a dozen leaders, nervous fatigue and discouragement blight many an ambitious community program.

Because of the rapid development of fatigue in modern industry shortened work days are a necessity. In many cases the shorter farm work day has been adopted with no loss in the total output. It is a notable fact that towards the sixth or seventh hour the rate of work diminishes quite rapidly. With the increasing use of machinery, the day nears when the civilized peoples can provide for their needs with a work day ending at the point where the curve of fatigue rises rapidly. While the industrial worker has a standard day that varies little with the season, the distribution of work on the average farm in the corn belt will show that June, July, and August carry a peak load of labor hours for man and horse that towers far above that of the winter months. The suddenness of the onset of bright sunny days for plowing and harvest, following weeks of rain and inclement weather, imposes work in such a manner as to cause excessive fatigue.

Figure 27 [1] (on page 195) shows the distribution of the farmer's day between work and other activities, with the variation between winter and summer.

With reference to the farmer's work day, the study [2] makes several notations. "The average working day is about ten hours in the field.

[1] Thompson and Warber, *Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota.* University of Minnesota, Studies in Economics, No. 1, pp. 9-11.

[2] *Ibid.*

But, as already alluded to, there are several hours required for chores. The thrifty well-to-do farmer rises at four-thirty or four-forty-five in the morning during the season of field work. . . . One hour's time is ordinarily allowed for dinner. This noon hour may include ten or fifteen minutes for scanning the daily paper, but there is no time for recreation. First, the horses must be fed and, then, the men wash up and sit down for their own meal. The afternoon's work drags on until six o'clock, which is the approved quitting time. As we have seen, however, the chores remain to be done after supper is over. By eight, or eight-thirty

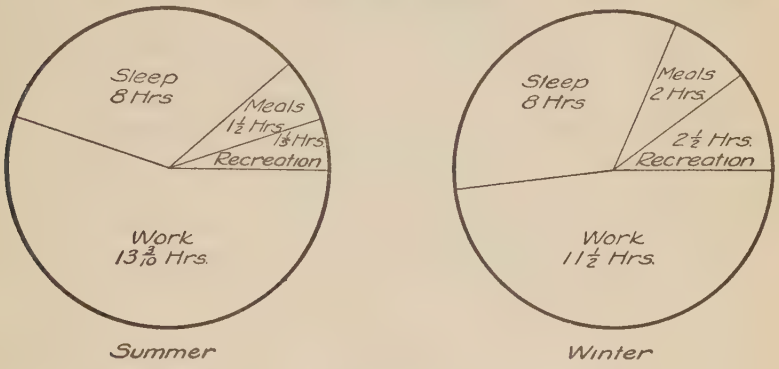

FIGURE 27
The Farmer's Work Day in Southern Minnesota

ordinarily, most farmers are through with the day's work." In Iowa most farmers interviewed by the writer rose at from five to five-thirty and retired from eight-thirty to nine. In winter the chores occupy from four to five hours. In Monona County the average farmer rose, during the summer, at five-thirty, and entered the field at seven-thirty. He generally quit at six, making an actual day of nine hours. Add to this one and one-half to two hours of chores, and you have the work day ten and one-half to eleven hours long.

LABORIOUS CHARACTER OF THE FARM WIFE'S WORK

According to Miss Ward's survey,[3] the farm women of Northern United States work 13.1 hours in the summer with 1.6 hours for rest, and 10.5 hours in winter with 2.4 hours for rest. The farm women's

[3] Ward, F. E., *The Farm Women's Problems.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Circular No. 148, pp. 7-9.

day does not vary so much, since seasonal changes do not invade the kitchen as they do the field. There are always floors to sweep, clothes to mend, children to care for, meals to cook, and beds to make.

The work of the farm wife is more tedious and monotonous than that of the farmer. According to Miss Ward's survey,[4] 79 percent of farm women tend kerosene lamps, 94 percent do their own baking, 96 percent do their own washing, and 92 percent do their own sewing. It is evident that with the 11 or 13 hour day, fatigue will become a factor in social paralysis, unless measures are used to mitigate it. Today, very few industries retain even the ten hour day.

Figures indicate that the farm wife still does much of her work by hand. In Miss Ward's survey[5] only 47 percent had carpet sweepers. In Lone Tree Township, Iowa, over one-half still relied on the broom. In Miss Ward's survey 15 percent of the homes had power washers and 57 percent, washing machines. In Lone Tree Township, Clay County, Iowa, 38 percent had power washers. Miss Ward's survey further revealed that 61 percent of farm women carried water an average of 39 feet, that 56 percent cared for gardens, that 68 percent made butter, and that 24 percent did field work.

In the course of getting a meal, as high as 1200 steps are taken by the farm wife. The making of a cake means that the farm wife crosses and criss-crosses the kitchen dozens of times. "Man works from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done." Many women are on their feet all day and walk from five to ten miles in the course of a days' work. With the lack of sinks and drains on from one-third to one-half of the farms, much refuse and waste water must be carried from the house. With the lack of running water in from 10 percent of homes in the best sections, to 50 percent in the poorest, tons of water must be carried into the house during the year. One woman estimated that in 20 years she had carried 2000 tons of water. Fifty dollars invested in piping would have saved all this work! Resourceful and courageous, the farm woman says little as she bravely tackles tasks which keep her busy from early morning to late evening. She must be up early to get breakfast for the men who desire to be in the field at seven. Children must be dressed and got ready for school. Several dozen dishes must be sorted, washed, and wiped three times a day. Bread must be mixed and baked two or three times a week in many homes. Vegetables, meats, pies, and cakes must be prepared dozens of times a week. Twenty-one meals are due each week, for

[4] Ward, F. E., *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

families eat on Sunday. Children and men, working in the dirt, track in many times each day, dust and mud. Every day there are floors to mop and sweep. Clothes tear and wear through, and this demands time for patching and mending. Buttons pull out. Threshers, corn shellers, and silo fillers turn the home into a boarding house with fifteen hungry men to feed. Many times extra help is unavailable. Strawberries, cherries, raspberries, vegetables, and apples keep the canning process going with 200 quarts as the goal. Some member of the family becomes sick and must be nursed night and day. This process of setting three meals, sweeping, and dishwashing, is repeated 365 times a year. One of the greatest achievements of the new agriculture will be the liberation of the farm mother from laborious toil so that she can do something as community leader, teacher, and citizen.

For the farmer there are still many laborious tasks. In plowing an acre the farmer walks over seven miles—seventeen and one-half miles in plowing his day's stint. Trudging through soft plowed ground behind a harrow, he walks over fifteen miles. In the course of his day's work in the hay field where hand methods prevail, the farmer will move ten to twelve tons of hay through an arc varying from five to ten feet. The city clerk or office assistant would not do as much physical work in a month. In picking eighty bushels of corn, the farmer tears 6400 to 8000 ears from their anchorage, making two to three motions for each, and throws them five to twelve feet. At the same time he will walk over two miles. In cribbing this corn he will hurl over three tons into a crib through an arc of seven to fifteen feet. This is kept up day after day heedless of weather. No wonder the cornpicker drops to sleep by the heat of the air-tight stove after supper and retires early! In feeding the hogs, horses, and cattle, the farmer often handles a half ton of hay and ensilage. On many farms several barrels of water and slop are carried from ten to fifty yards. Shocking eight acres of heavy grain in a day, the shocker must stoop over the hot burning stubble for 1000 to 1500 bundles. On many farms several hundred gallons of water must be pumped by hand for thirsty live stock. In milking three cows twice a day there must be thirty to sixty minutes of tense strain upon the forearm. On wet days, while weighted down with heavy overshoes, the farmer must carry his corn, milk, and hay through thick mud. After a day of heavy, laborious work, when every muscle aches with fatigue and cries out for rest, only the most determined and enthusiastic farmers will drive five miles to lead a farmers' meeting. Everywhere I meet real heroes of everyday life in the form of a tired, fatigued farmer and his wife who, after thirteen

hours of hard work, come in at nine o'clock to the community debate. With them are three or four small children whose dressing meant a great deal of hurrying work.

The advent of farm machinery has abolished many laborious tasks. Out of 85 farms in Lone Tree Township, Clay County, Iowa, 68 farmers had manure spreaders, 30 had grain elevators, 45 had gas engines, and 2 had tractors. A majority of the farms in Iowa, today, have some form of machine for handling hay, such as a hay fork in the barn, a hay stacker and sweep, or a hay loader with slings. In many cases, however, the hay must be handled at least one way by hand. The sinking of a hay fork into a load of slightly green alfalfa, on a hot day, is laborious. Stacking hay behind a hay stacker which dumps down a half or one-third ton at a time is heavy work. There is a tendency to cut down the labor force to a minimum when machinery is introduced, and then, through its assistance, each man handles two to three times as much material as before. Grain stacking and corn picking are still in the hand labor stage. Roughly, about half of the operations on the farm are in the machine stage, while the other half remain hand labor.

THE FACTOR OF UNCERTAINTY

Uncertainty spells worry over the future. Certainty reduces the worry. Worry pours poisons into the blood-stream which are a menace to health. It is a matter of common observation that hard work without worry seldom causes a human being to break down. Worry cuts into the ability to endure work.

For the pioneer farmer, the main type of uncertainty was physical and meteorological. Nature was a fickle Being that sent sickness, grasshoppers, hailstorms, droughts, and floods. This pioneer had nothing to fear from financial obligations or glutted markets. He did not depend upon hired labor or complicated machines that break down at crucial times. While, with the pioneer farmer, who had only a few simple adjustments to make, nervous fatigue was a rarity, the farmer of today has the added worry of business perplexities that evolve out of a capitalistic system of production. The pioneer's problem was to adjust his production to his own consumption, in brief, that of securing, through his tilled truck-patch and small herd, sufficient food to eat. Mortgages, costs of production, credit, labor, did not as yet trouble his peace of mind.

The element of uncertainty in agriculture is being reduced by scientific

rotations, control measures for insect pests, long time credit, machinery, and weather forecasts over the radio; yet there are many factors that make for uncertainty as compared with other pursuits.

MONOTONY

The farmer works the same land year after year unless he belongs to the tenant class. He uses much of the same old machinery; he tramps back and forth over the paths in farmstead and field. The scenery is much the same; buildings on the farmstead change very slowly; much the same crops are grown, in much the same way. During each season certain operations have the right-of-way. In the house the farm wife repeats dishwashing, sweeping, baking, churning, and washing operations hundreds of times each year. Her work is less varied than that of the farmer, changes less with the seasons than the work in the fields. Yet farming has more variable elements in it than practically any other industry. Shocking grain is monotonous, but it rarely lasts over two weeks, when the scene shifts to the hay field. Corn picking is monotonous, but it rarely lasts over a month. Each day, chores give some spice and novelty to the work. Different implements are used. Each week the weather causes a line-up of work different from that of any other year. Market problems and the problems of farm management are different. There is great room for initiative and inventiveness. Each year the independent farmer may try out new crop experiments or experiment with new methods of plowing, harvesting, and rotating. New "stunts," devices, and tricks may be developed for saving time and work.

On the other hand, few farmers realize the drudging, soul-wrecking, inhuman monotony of machine tending. Seven or eight motions which hardly vary in their direction, velocity, or power are repeated thousands of times each day. Hour after hour, with two or three motions, each of which is worked out to the nicety of scientific precision, a man feeds leather into a stamping machine. In the manufacture of autos one man may do nothing but set on headlights, stamp out the dash, or turn out one size of bolt. The human brain gives over its work to the lower nerve centers to make an automatic machine out of the human organism. The same room, the same scenery in minutest detail, associates with the same rhythm, speed, and motion, winter and summer, spring and fall, cloudy days and sunny days. Little opportunity is given to see from start to finish, the building of the product as a whole. Little opportunity for

inventiveness or initiative exists; deadening cramping monotony is omnipresent. Under such conditions eight hours will numb the body with fatigue.

SCARCITY OF HIRED HELP

In many sections, it is difficult to obtain efficient farm help at a reasonable wage. Very little female help is hired on the farm. It is evident that most of the hard, laborious work of the farm must be done by the farmer and his wife. Many claim it is as easy to do the work themselves as it is to supervise somebody else. Higher money wages, no chores, and shorter hours lure many farm laborers to the city. Without hired help the livestock farmer is tied quite closely to his farm. In the same manner his wife is tied to the home. Long hours, lack of recreation and vacation heighten the effect of fatigue.

Only a few farms are equipped for housing a married and permanent laborer. Thus most of the labor will be of the inefficient migratory and transitory type.

Studies in Rice County, Minnesota,[6] give a graphic picture of the "hired help condition in rural districts." "In this township fifteen percent of the farmers had hired help by the year, nine percent had help by the month over four months, but less than a year, eight percent of the month, less than four months, and thirty-four percent hired day labor. Of the total number of farmers twenty-three percent found it their 'biggest problem to get satisfactory help.' There is more and more of a demand for the kind of laborers upon whom the farmer may depend absolutely. Besides physical strength, the present day system of farming demands a willingness to work irregular hours and genuine personal interest in the work on hand. Farmers who keep pure-bred dairy herds must have help the year around, and any kind of hired help will no longer do. Up to this point we have given no attention to the woman's work. With household duties are usually included the care of chickens and garden work. In almost every case where they have a garden, the women had at least to help tend it. So, also if they wanted their front yards to look tidy, they themselves had to run the lawn-mower. Even the indoor work is of the heaviest nature. There are big milk cans, separators, and milk utensils to cleanse by washing and rinsing with boiling hot water. There is always much sweeping to be done, for feet cannot be kept clean in fields and barnyards. Although there may be endless distractions such as medicine men, picture men, book agents, or just plain tramps, interfering

[6] Thompson and Warber, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-15.

with her work, a good housewife has to be able to do all this and get dinner ready on time. In only ten percent of the places, was a hired girl kept. Sixty-nine percent of the families were without any girl help of sixteen years of age and over, and in forty-six percent of the families there were from four to one children under seven years of age who required care to keep them safe from mischief and out of harm's way. Thus, the good women are kept 'on the go' from five o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night. Besides the garden work and the care of chickens, which we have seen is general, there were in this township thirty-two percent of the families in which the women helped with the milking and did the barnyard chores."

RESIDENTIAL PROXIMITY TO WORK

The tired city business man can find solace from his worries in retreating to a home, insulated from his daily problems. Few American business men live over their place of business where their home life can be trespassed upon and broken into by the irregularities of trade. The farmer's home is synonymous with his place of business and immersed in its processes and problems. His slumbers are disturbed by the bleating of dog-chased sheep and the squeals of entrapped pigs. Like the city fire department, the farm family is subject to call at any time during the day or night. The sight of weeds, dilapidated buildings, sagging fence lines, and stampeding animals constitutes a continual sub-conscious urge for the farmers, that makes complete relaxation difficult. There is no group in such need of vacations that will take them entirely away from the scene of their work, as farmers. For the farm operators there are a hundred constant reminders of the "taskmaster work." A few farmers live in town and drive to and from their work. This entails the necessity of a residential manager to look after the live stock, and means a considerable waste of time. Most homes are used commercially as seed houses, dairies, storage plants, and offices. The irritations of field and kitchen become the topic of the breakfast and supper table. On many farms this urge of words and sights tends toward fewer and fewer vacations, child labor, longer hours, continual fatigue, and social paralysis. In old agricultural villages the homes were somewhat removed from the work, while observances, festivals, rites, and games served to shift the mental focus of the individual from his own economic concern.

The American farm is an individual, isolated plant, where all debts, reverses, and successes are private matters. It must work out its own

salvation. Only recently are farmers developing the sense of mutual aid, by means of which individual perplexities are merged into the collective. As the farmer discusses his individual worries with other farmers at the farm bureau program, he discovers that he is not the only one who has difficulties to meet. Laborers and business men have already learned the lesson of discussing their business problems and converting personal worries into communal or organizational worries. In this way the individual shifts the burden from his shoulders to those of the organization.

LACK OF EFFICIENT REST PERIODS

It has been discovered that when a muscle exerted itself for ten minutes it needed only a few minutes' rest to recover entirely its former elasticity and freshness. When this muscle has been used one hour, it requires, perhaps, another hour to regain its former elasticity and freshness. The same rule, that frequent rest periods are more economical, is true of nerves as well as of muscles.

The farmer has more opportunities for rest and relaxation than his wife. The average farmer in Western Iowa took 94 trips to town during the year, lasting from 1 to 4 hours. He attended 18 sales and made 42 visits. He took 17 vacation and pleasure trips, mostly short ones.

The housewife has few of these chances for rest. Her best opportunity for relaxation is on Saturday, shopping days and on week-day afternoons, after she has completed the home work. Saturday shopping in crowded places is, however, often more tiresome than restful, especially in towns where rest rooms are fiction. About one woman in ten gets a short vacation, lasting a couple of weeks. The rural home is organized for work with a definite schedule of hours for rising, choring, departing for the field and retiring, but it is not organized with definite periods for rest and relaxation. The music hour, game hour, or family hour is a rarity in most farm homes during the work season.

IRREGULAR AND UNPLANNED WORK

In order to meet the demands of modern competition, city industries must run on an accurate and definite schedule of hours. Their labor days, functions, and duties are carefully assigned and standardized. The factory or store worker knows when his day's work is done, and whether he has accomplished the standard amount of work. The farmer, however, who works fourteen hours each day, plows the maximum acres of

ground, cultivates a large corn acreage, yet is not always certain of a return commensurate with his effort. As prices fall, interest rates rise and production costs keep relatively higher than farm product prices—things over which he has little control. In a sort of cynical desperation, the farmer endeavors to offset these reverses by longer days and less hired help.

MITIGANTS OF FATIGUE

Variety and novelty. "Variety is the spice of life" is a phrase often quoted to emphasize the basic desire of the human organism for change and novelty. Monotonous, drudging toil fatigues out of all importance to the work done, since the mental attitude tones down the resistive power of the system. By careful planning much novelty can be introduced into farm life, or even into kitchen existence. Furniture can be rearranged; wall decorations can be altered. The order of tasks can be changed; new methods of doing work can be tried; experiments can be conducted with different crops under diverse conditions of tillage. Farm life has abundant opportunities to defeat drudgery and monotony.

Congenial associates. Much of the tiring effect of the work is dissipated in the pleasures of companionship. Many farmers note how difficut it is to get one man to hoe corn in solitude, as compared to securing a gang to hoe. The frequent and bantering conversation does much to relieve the back-breaking toil. It is never difficult to get a crowd around a threshing machine or corn sheller. Admitting the ability of association to vitalize labor, we should, certainly, endeavor to organize many farm tasks, such as plowing, corn husking, harvesting, on the group and gang basis, and to use such machines as corn pickers and hay loaders which work men in doubles and triples.

Boys ride, run, swim, and fight better in groups. People discuss topics better and more easily in groups. There is a rivalry and a companionship in groups that give the work a human, purposeful, and idealistic power. In many communities farmers help each other so that the work can be done under sociable conditions. In the old agricultural community where it took a number of men to plow a furrow, much of the work was of a group character. Modern agriculture, however, places the farmer on a solitary, individualistic basis.

Rhythm and music. Men cover distance more easily, when singing and keeping step to march music. Parading people do not tire so easily when the band is playing as when they walk irregularly by themselves. An interesting test of music in its relation to fatigue was made by R. D.

Smith[7] in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In the office of fifty men, a phonograph was installed. The music varied between the most primitive jazz and the purest classics. Without music, fifty hours of substitute time and one over-time hour were needed for six men to sort the mail; while with music, the work was done with only 43 hours of substitute time, and no over-time. Without music 420 errors were made at three stations. With music, 366 errors were made. A Minneapolis journalist in reporting this novel experiment, stated: "I questioned a majority of the men, and they all said the time seemed shorter, the work easier and more enjoyable, and that the music waked them up. Before having the music one of them told me, 'I would start home at 4 p. m. tired out, half asleep.' "

Phonographs and player pianos are making their appearance in some rural homes; 56.3 percent of farm owners' homes in Livingston[8] County, New York, and 69.8 percent of the farm owners' homes in Black Hawk County, Iowa, had pianos. In many cases, however, when the eldest daughter left, this hand piano was a silent one. In Livingston County, New York,[9] 3.5 percent of the homes had pianos, victrolas and other instruments, 15.2 percent had pianos and victrolas only, and 13.9 had only a victrola. With the phonograph the tired family can listen to a great variety of music while they rest or lounge. In the forenoon the housewife can sweep and wash to the invigorating strains of band or orchestra music. Many homes are installing radios which give a never-ending variety of music. In the summer many small towns present band concerts which draw hundreds of farmers' cars into the main square of the town. There the lively music makes these tired people forget their fatigue. Community singing is becoming one of the popular methods of opening up rural programs where a farmer audience has assembled after a day of toil.

Machinery. Agriculture is the last industry in a nation to rise out of the primitive stage. It is also the last to employ machine methods. Many factory operations that involve more complex and detailed movements than farm work, from the folding of cardboard boxes to the feeding of automatic drills, have faithfully reproduced every intricate movement of the artisan. Mechanical stokers, mechanical shovels, mechanical cement mixers, mechanical bread kneaders, mechanical candy pullers,

[7] *Literary Digest,* March 4, 1922, p. 20.
[8] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *A Study of the Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming.* Cornell University Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 429, p. 29.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 26.

mechanical type setters demonstrate that there are few movements of the human hands that cannot be duplicated by a machine. Large farms, fewer farmers, and relatively intelligent, rural citizenship have combined to make the United States the outstanding country of machine farming. The fact that 96 percent of our 1896 corn crop was produced by machinery, the fact that in most agricultural operations one man with 1896 machines could do the work of five with 1820 hand tools, offers eloquent testimony as to the rôle of machinery in American agriculture. The farm home lags behind the farm in the substitution of machinery for hand labor. Certain recent substitutions of machine and brains for brute force are worthy of consideration, since within a few decades they bid fair to banish much of the paralyzing fatigue from field and kitchen, and liberate a considerable fund of leisure time.

One of the most eloquent testimonies to the power of machinery is the increase of 17 percent in the efficiency of the cereal farmer from 1910 to 1920. The large 1920 crop was produced by less than eleven million farm workers. And there can be no doubt that they accomplished it with a minimum of walking and lifting.

Motor farming. The farm tractor is a comparatively recent invention, yet it bids fair to revolutionize agriculture. A well motorized farm will reduce the labor hours necessary to grow the crop from 35 percent to 50 percent, and, if such a system were adopted in the corn belt, it would displace nearly half of the farmers now there. Horse-drawn harvesters, mowers, plows, rakes, etc., made it possible in the seventies and eighties for a large proportion of the American farm population to move into the city. Larger farms, shorter days, intelligent business farmers, greater labor incomes per man, and higher social standards may easily supplant smaller, hand-manned farms, longer days, more ignorant peasant farmers, less labor-income per man, and lower living standards. Motor farming may make it possible for eight instead of twelve-and-a-half million workers to grow the nation's food crop. Available figures show that there were, in 1921, 21,932 tractors in Illinois, 19,427 in Iowa, 16,128 in Kansas, 14,794 in Minnesota, 12,160 in South Dakota, and 11,384 in North Dakota. On 3.6 percent of the farms of our nation were 229,332 tractors. South Dakota had tractors on 16.2 percent, and Iowa on 10.3 percent of the farms. The tractor has made its main invasion during the last five years. Only recently has the farm tractor been so standardized and efficiently designed as to give it the reliability of the automobile; its previous unreliability retarded its adoption by the less mechanically-inclined farmers. For the most part, the tractors are confined to the larger and more level

farms. The writer had the practical opportunity to compute comparative labor-time necessary, on a Western Iowa farm, to grow a crop, first, by horse methods and, second, by tractor methods. With horse power fully applied, 1600 man hours were needed to handle the 80 acres of corn, the 40 acres of wheat, and the 20 acres of hay, making a total of 2092 man hours. With a full application of tractor methods, 1392 hours were necessary to till the same number of acres of crops as before, in the same proportions. At the same time the rush reason in plowing, seeding, and harvest was handled without the fatiguing strain, owing to the great amount of reserve power and work speed of the motor.

Talley and Reynoldson,[10] in their study of 286 farms in the corn belt, have brought out some significant facts concerning the tractor and power farming, with reference to costs and field efficiency. The tractors on these farms worked on the average of 30.8 full days, and did 85 percent of the plowing, 73 percent of the disking, 43 percent of the harrowing, 41 percent of the grain cutting, and 30 percent of the drawbar work on the entire farm. Also, the average cost of these tractors was $1140 with $341 for annual upkeep, and their life, 6.7 years. The tractors were "out of commission" about 2 days during the year. The average cost per acre for plowing was $1.70 for tractors, and $1.60 for horses. (In September, 1921, horses were operated for 64¢ per acre and tractors for 67¢.) At this time feed was relatively cheap and fuel relatively costly. The tendency is, continually, to reduce the cost and depreciation of tractors. On 172 farms the number of horses declined 2.2 head. Data taken from these farms show that the tractor did, in 19 days, 109.2 days of horse plowing, and in fitting ground it did, in 35 days, 68.4 days of horse work. The 3-plow machines saved 30-35 days of man labor during the year.

When the motors are developed for all types of work, from making hay to plowing, long, fatiguing hours will be eliminated. With a three-plow tractor, we now can plow ten to twelve acres in a standard field day. Contrast this with the two-and-one-half acres which is a good day's work with a 14-inch walking plow, or the 5 acres which is a good day's work with the 13-inch "gang." Motor cultivators can, in one day, cultivate 15 to 20 acres, disk 35 acres, and harrow 80 acres. One of the greatest aggravants of fatigue is retarded work due to bad weather. With the reserve force of the tractor, the farmer has a big factor of safety and

[10] Talley and Reynoldson, *Cost and Utilization of Power of Farms Where Tractors Are Owned.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 997, pp. 2-5, 27-37, 60-61.

does not work on so narrow a time margin. This decreases the element of uncertainty and gives him more control over his business. On hot days, in the rush season, horses work slowly and cannot be crowded like the "steel horse." The tractor pulls the load of eight horses, yet it does not require the tedious, fatiguing job of harnessing, currying, unhitching, watering, feeding, and unharnessing these restive animals. Its overhaul can be made in a slack winter season, while its oiling and tanking can be done in the cool of the morning. Mechanical breakdowns mean fatiguing work, but these decrease rapidly with mechanical perfection.

The tractor has a comfortable seat, and with the self-steering devices, its operation is not laborious. Perhaps the real strain is on the nerves, if anywhere.

In the near future, when more farmers receive mechanical training, we shall see a rapid extension of motor farming.

Development of specialized machines for specialized tasks. Inventors and makers of farm machinery are doing considerable in the way of developing labor-saving devices. Many of these new machines which, as yet, exist in the experimental stage, are being tested out, at either factory or farm. In from five to ten years this stage will give way to the practical or commercial stage. A large number of labor-saving machines are now being built either for quantity sales or for experimental, introductory sales. A mere enumeration of these devices will show to what extent the farmer with sufficient working capital can banish hard work. Potato diggers and planters, power sprayers, manure spreaders, motor saws, grain-shocking machines, corn-picking machines, milking machines, feed carriers, crib elevators, automatic dumps, hay loaders, hay stackers, motor-cultivators, and tractors—such is our list.

With the perfection of these machines, the farmer will be liberated from most of the back-breaking, arduous tasks connected with agriculture. The spectres of gravity and distance will soon cease to haunt his sleep. "Sitting machines," in the minds of certain humorists, are making a sedentary occupation out of agriculture to such extent that the farmer may eventually have to patronize a gymnasium to secure sufficient exercise for his health. Many of these labor-saving devices have appeared in the last decade. In 1890 many of them were unknown. At this time farming was a matter of brawn and muscle, since most operations were "by hand" and most machines were of the walking type. While machine-tending has led to much monotonous labor, this has not been true in machine agriculture where there are a large number of different types of machines. The application of machinery to household work has not been so rapid.

In the field the machine is economical in that it saves valuable time, and does better work. The failure to add household conveniences and labor-saving devices does not mean, ordinarily, that more money must be paid out for hired girls. It means longer hours, more steps, and shorter rest periods for the tired farm wife. The work which the farmer does with his tractor brings in a cash return that will help him pay off his dealer. The work which the farm woman does with a vacuum sweeper does not, in any such visible, direct way, yield a cash return to pay off its sale price. The return is not in money, but in human happiness and comfort. But these more intangible values have not made their appeal to the farmer in a forceful way; so he buys the new corn-picking machine, while his wife "does without" the power washer.

On many farms, in the well-improved areas in Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota, we find modern barns, silos, hog houses, harvesters, tractors, mowing machines, corn planters, and fences; but contiguous to them, as a sort of reminder of primitive pioneer days, we discover an 1880 farm house equipped with the lamps, water supply and cleaning apparatus of fifty years ago. Rankin estimates that only two percent of the farm homes in Nebraska are completely modern. But there are certain unmistakable signs that, even in the farm home, a transformation is coming about, which bids fair to liberate the tired farm wife from the shackles of soul-killing drudgery. Within two decades, at the most, hundreds of thousands of farm families will change from pioneer abodes to modern homes.

Farm homes have a number of fatiguing specialized tasks which can be mechanized easily. One of the bluest days for the farm wife is wash day, which often so tires her that she does not recover for several days. The power washer cuts the wash day in two and saves the back-breaking work of washing clothes by hand. We note that 30 to 60 percent of the owners' homes in various areas have power washers, although twenty years ago such a thing was hardly conceivable. In a few homes the handier and more reliable electric washer is a fixture.

Ironing, calling from the constant shifting of flats between hot range and ironing board, has been a fatiguing task. The high stool, combined with the electric or gasoline iron, saves much of this heat and fatigue. Fine work can be done on the cool, screened porch, without much standing or walking. Something like 13.2 percent, 32.6 percent, and 30 percent of the farm-owner homes in Livingston County, New York; Blackhawk County, Iowa; and Clay County, Iowa, respectively, had installed irons of this type.[11]

[11] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 29.

One of the most onerous tasks for the farm wife has been the "lugging" of a dozen pails of water to and from the house. Pumping is particularly difficult for most women, and many farm pumps are hard to operate. Fourteen percent of the homes in Livingston County, and about half the poor homes in Iowa areas, had running water in the house. About half of the Iowa homes had bathrooms.

The fueling of two or three dirt-collecting stoves, is a constant source of labor for the farm wife. In the three areas cited above, 41.7 percent, 59.3 percent, and 50 percent of owners of farm homes had heating systems of a modern type.

On one hand, we note many kitchens so ill-arranged that they require double the number of steps necessary to get a meal. On the other hand, smaller kitchens with sinks, gas stoves, work tables, cupboards, and refrigerators conveniently arranged, are gradually making their appearance. Wheel trays, high stools on casters, breakfast alcoves, and gas stoves enormously reduce the number of steps and labor necessary to do the kitchen work.

One of the unsanitary and fatiguing tools of the farm home is the hand broom. The dust is raised from the floor to settle on table and shelves. Bedsteads, wall corners, and rugs are difficult to clean in the old-fashioned way. Over half the homes in many Iowa areas now have the vacuum cleaners, which, when coupled with electricity, greatly reduce the time and labor of cleaning.

With high tension lines pushing out into country districts, and with the use of wind power to furnish a cheap and never-ending source of electricity, the electrification of the farm home is coming. Enough wind blows over a section of the farmstead sixty feet square to electrify the farm. A few power plants driven by windmills are on Iowa farms. Thus, the old reliable wind-wheel often furnishes a constant source of cheap power to light the farm home and to lighten its work. Motor-driven sewing machines, electric fans to dissipate the humidity and heat from the kitchen, electric refrigerators, electric stoves, electric ovens—that automatically regulate—electric toasters and percolators, electric washers, and electric irons will eventually revolutionize the farm home and render the wife independent of time, fatigue, and hired girls. But certain factors tend to delay the introduction of labor saving devices.

1. *The lack of adequate capital.* Most farmers are under-capitalized in buildings and equipment. They still have the notion that a modern business can be conducted with pioneer equipment. Many Iowa farms which are worth nearly $40,000, have less than $500 of machinery and

equipment. Land hunger has led them to invest in more acres rather than in equipment with which to till their farm better and more easily. With more education in farm management and the balancing of factors in production, this discrepancy will not exist.

Business men, with less than a three-fourths equity in their establishment, will invest eight thousand dollars in a modern home, yet wealthy farmers feel that they must have practically a one-hundred percent equity in their farms before they will consider the construction of up-to-date homes. While the city dweller feels little compunction in buying furniture upon the installment plan, the farmer feels disgraced with even an "unpaid-for" chair in his home.

Working many acres with poor equipment invites worry, long hours, and fatigue. Twenty-five hundred dollars less in land and $2500 more in equipment would give a larger product with much less labor. In the past farm financing has been inadequate for the peculiar needs of the industry. With high interest rates and short time loans, borrowing money for equipment has been exceedingly dangerous. It was safer to "worry along" with the old machinery. Some farmers have solved the problem by remaining tenants and placing their money into equipment. To the tenant, intelligent and trained in scientific agriculture, this plan has given a higher labor income.

2. *The lack of reliability and durability of low priced machines.* In experimenting with poorly designed machines, which soon wore out and frequently broke down, farmers have lost millions. The age of experimentation is rapidly giving way to standardized, simple, reliable, and durable machines. Farmers are becoming versed in what constitutes good design and worth-while features, thanks to numerous machine demonstrations and exhibits.

3. *The lack of mechanical knowledge.* The pioneer farmer was a husbandman. He could doctor horses and train them, but machines were "Chinese puzzles" to him. He understood the simpler devices, such as levers, spades, axes, grindstones, augurs, and stirring plows, but a gas engine had too many complications to "fool with." While horses were certain to go when hitched to an implement, tractors were not so sure to proceed. The more "contraptions" to a thing, the more likely it was to get "out of whack." Today our high schools, colleges, extension lectures, farm papers, and dealers are constituting themselves agencies to educate a generation of farmers who know more about carburetors and roller bearings than about spavins and hames. Pride is being transferred from the fine span of draft horses to automobile and tractor. The farmer who

once enjoyed currying and trimming the forelock of his horses now enjoys the valve-grinding incident to the tuning up of his tractor. The successful motor farms generally have somebody, either father or son, who is a natural mechanic.

4. *Lack of education in scientific agriculture.* Many farmers who could afford modern homes with up-to-date equipment live in houses of the 1880 model because their ideals have not changed. For them the old-time home with the old-time pump is good enough. Many times an eye demonstration of the extent to which some of these conveniences can save work causes their installation. Sometimes, the son or daughter back from high school or college infects the family with new ideas of "how to do it." Once telephone, power washer, electric light, or furnace has been installed, it is rarely removed. With 30 percent of the adolescent children in some districts attending the secondary school, and with large numbers of high school graduates attending college, the ideal of the modern up-to-date home will gain favor rapidly.

In the near future we may expect a considerable liberation of surplus energy and time. To convert this time into constructive social contacts will be the task of the social engineer.

INTRODUCTION OF VACATION AND REST PERIODS INTO THE FARM DAY AND YEAR

In many farm homes with modern conveniences, the afternoon rest period has become an institution. It gives opportunity for such recreative and social activities as attendance at farm women's clubs, ladies' aids, calls on neighbors, or a trip to town. With the Ford coupé and all-year roads, the farm wife can reach the neighborhood social gathering, three miles distant, within a few minutes, and without taking a horse from the field work. Two leisure hours for three afternoons a week recreate the mind and body of the tired farm wife, and give her new zest for the work of the day. Rest periods after the noon meal and the evening chores are making their appearance. The phonograph, player piano, and radio are providing interesting diversion for the family in the winter. In the summer and fall the automobile is cranked up and the family cools or relaxes itself with an evening trip.

With the automobile was also introduced the idea of vacation trips to distant points and shorter drives to local places of scenic interest. With a tent and automobile camping outfit, an entire farm family can, during the post-harvest season, travel economically to the "Rockies."

In some ways the tractor has tended to reduce the stops at the end of the fields. It needs no rest and rarely gets hot. The farmer is already producing food for 30,000,000 more people than we have at home, with resulting low prices for his produce. It should be the hope of the rural sociologist that the energy and time liberated by machinery will be used to extend rest periods and shorten work days rather than to expand acres. Such a policy will not be possible if each farmer works as an individual, or if he sets a killing pace for other farmers. Only by organization and education is it possible for the farmers, as a class, to adopt a standard work day and regular vacations.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Show the effect of fatigue upon programs, enthusiasms, morale, etc. Discuss physiological effects of fatigue. Why do people on the farm retire earlier than people in the city?
2. What elements in farm work make it laborious? Why is house work particularly fatiguing? Account for the slow introduction of labor-saving devices on the farmstead and in the kitchen.
3. To what extent is there a hired help problem on the farm? In the home? Account for the scarcity of "hired girls."
4. What are the aggravants of fatigue? The mitigants? Compare city industries to agriculture from the standpoint of fatigue.
5. What labor-saving devices for farm and home would you advocate to liberate the farmer and his family from fatigue? To what extent have they been introduced?

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CHAPTER XI

ECONOMIC FACTORS IN SOCIALIZATION: WEALTH, POSSESSIONS, AND INCOME

HOW MAY WEALTH INFLUENCE SOCIALIZATION

There are various ways in which wealth may affect socialization. In the first place, wealth tends to liberate suppressed wants. There is never a deficit of desires; in fact, wants, the amazing number of which is a salient characteristic of modern civilization, always outrun man's power to satisfy them. They evolve from the few simple, food-and-clothing demands of the pioneer to the artistic and intellectual desires of the modern family. Thus the majority of people have ungratified wants which rise above the physical and which are released with every increment to income.

In the second place, much of the struggle for wealth is motivated by the pressure of unsatiated social and cultural wants. The peasant-minded, who are content to live on a bare subsistence, have no motive either to earn more than a meager salary, or to accumulate beyond a small parcel of land. In the tropics, where shelter against the weather is a petty problem and where food is easily obtained, men rarely accumulate. Every salaried man's contact with society, through means of cheap communication, continually brings a tremendous pressure upon him to beautify a modern home, to have musical instruments, and to collect books. Thus, incentives are given him to improve his scale of living to the level of the groups with whom he associates. For this reason, he seeks every opportunity to augment his income by careful saving, persistent work, and education.

In the third place, social status tends to make an adaptation to wealth. Thus it will be expected of the humble rancher who has inherited a fortune that he live in a mansion on "Fifth Avenue," give expensive dinners, patronize artists, and collect a library; thus it will be held that the prosperous, retired farmer should rent a fine home in the town and place his family in the best social set. Hitherto, isolation has prevented the full pressure of general social standards upon the farmer. But the radio and automobile are rapidly bringing him into the competition of both city and

country, as far as levels of socialization are concerned. No longer can the rich farmer hide the stinginess and meagerness of his life, and thus keep it from the limelight of public scrutiny. Under such conditions, wealth and income exert a continual pressure to advance to new levels of socialization. The underlying principle is that when wealth determines the social status, its possession tends to prevent the individual from revolving in the same social plane as his ancestors. Where there is an absence of hereditary caste, wealth has a full chance to work out its influence socially.

In the fourth place, wealth is often a guarantee of the leisure time necessary for the activities of culture and socialization. In previous centuries practically every artist, scholar, or writer enjoyed a leisure made possible by the ownership of an estate, the patronage of a nobleman, or a church. In later times this leisure has come through scholarships, research fellowships, scientific foundations, government subsidization, and the possession of a fortune. Today a considerable number of working people have a liberal education, while the eight-hour day and rapid transportation give the worker several hours of daily leisure. We are tending to distribute the fund of leisure time in society quite widely, necessitating a larger number of incomes sufficient to maintain a life of culture and leisure.

In rural districts we still, to a large extent, recruit our farmer leaders from the group who are fairly well-to-do, and who are able to donate sufficient time to conduct school boards, social centers, Sunday schools, and farm bureaus.

The origin of wealth influences its effect upon socialization. Has the process by which the farm was obtained stimulated co-operation, intelligence, organization, and social adaptation? A selfish, anti-social individual may inherit his father's farm. In five cases of inherited farms which the writer surveyed, the socialization score of the owner—as indicated by the absence of good reading and the lack of any interest in church, education, chautauqua, libraries, or community work—was low. In many ways an inheritance tax upon larger estates is justified from the standpoint of social progress.

Except as the community absorbs it through taxation, wealth, which originates from speculation, chance, or graft, is of doubtful value as a factor in socialization. Generally, its possessors are loath to spend a portion of its income for the development of public welfare institutions. They compose a stubborn, conservative element, generally "agin" roads, schools, and social centers, if such have to be paid for by taxation.

Finally, in the discussion of the influence of wealth upon socialization, it should be noted that there is a law of diminishing returns involved. Just as a certain point is reached where units of labor, continually added to a given piece of land, fail to bring commensurate gains, just so there is a point where added increments of material wealth fail to secure proportionate gains in psychic income.

From the standpoint of a social economy and to procure the maximum social progress with a given quantity of wealth, there should be such a distribution of wealth as to avoid either poverty or riches, provided, of course, that such a system could be instituted without reducing the incentive for productive labor. The principle is illustrated theoretically in the following diagram:

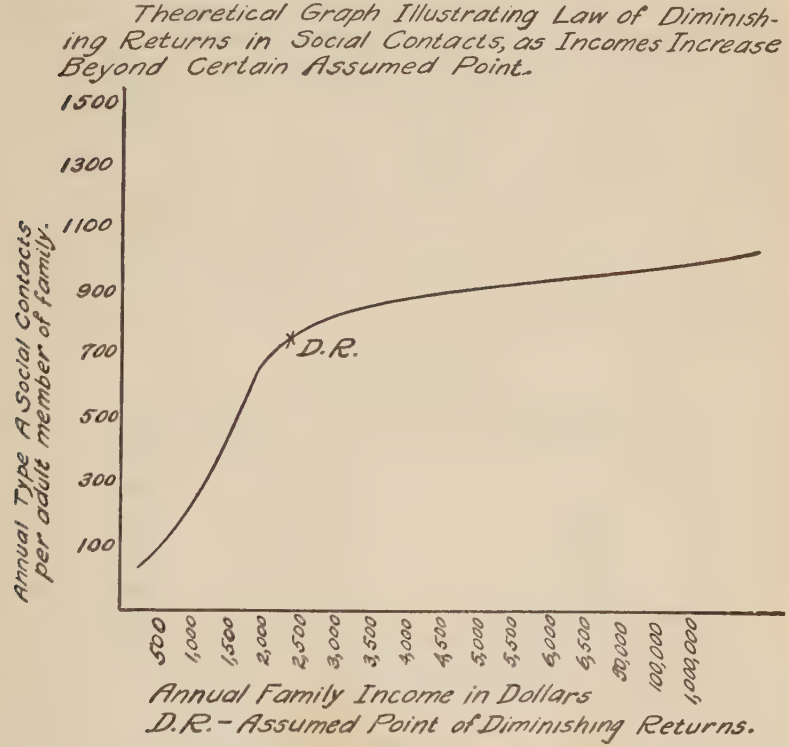

FIGURE 28

Wealth and Socialization

Since in a rural community with economic-sized farms we find the largest proportion of persons in the $1500-$2000 income class (in rural

districts this assumes that the farm's contribution in kind is added to the family income as cash), we should find here the optimum conditions for a high average social development. The proportion of persons with sufficient leisure time and resources to act as efficient social units should be much greater in the country than in larger urban centers where the modal income is much lower. However, to take advantage of this favorable economic status of the country, our social community should embrace a population of 1500 to 2000.

THE FARM AND ITS CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN RELATION TO SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

Most studies show a direct correlation between labor return, social efficiency, and size of farm. Kirkpatrick [1] shows that farms below 50 acres average $449 in expenditures for all purposes per cost-consumption unit,[2] and farms over 300 acres $795. On farms below 50 acres, 14.5 percent of the budget was spent for personal advancement per cost-consumption unit, and on farms 300 acres or over, 27.6 percent. While on farms of 41-80 acres, $80 per capita were spent for living expenses, on farms of 201-400 acres $104 per capita were spent. The relation between size of farm and average of social values per family is shown by the following data:[3]

402 Farms

Size Groups (Acres)	Average of Social Values per Farm
Below 50	166
50–99	184
100–149	198
150–199	207
200–299	216
300 and over	237

[1] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming*. Cornell University Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 423, pp. 72-76.

[2] The cost of feeding, clothing, lodging, a man 25 years of age will generally equal 1, called a cost-consumption unit. A child will rarely equal over .5 of a cost-consumption unit.

[3] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

Size Groups (Capital)	Average of Social Values per Farm
Below $ 7,500	155
7,500–$12,499	180
12,500– 17,499	197
14,500– 24,999	209
25,000– 29,999	220
40,000–and over	256

Kirkpatrick also studied [4] the influence of the percentage of indebtedness to social values per family and total values, as given in the following table:

Size of Groups (Percent of Indebtedness)	Average Social Value per Family	Average Total Values per Family
9 or less	195	489
10–19	209	492
20–29	200	472
30–39	208	501
40–49	199	472
50 and over	184	446

He states: "Furthermore, percentage of indebtedness bears no relation to any of the factors held to constitute the standard of life. . . . On an average, about the same amount of money is spent for all purposes and about the same percentage of the money expended is used for purposes included under advancement, regardless of the mortgage on property and of personal debts." The farmer who borrows money to improve the efficiency of his business or to install conveniences in the home should improve the standard of life. It is often the enterprising farmer with more than the average education and intelligence that has the courage to go into debt. Too heavy indebtedness apparently causes a falling off of social values, for generally it is the reckless farmer of the speculative type who tends to incur heavy debts. Furthermore, the presence of the burdensome debts often condemns the family to stringent economies that lower their standard of life. On the whole, debt is not a factor of first magnitude in socialization and living standards.

There can be little doubt, however, that peasant agriculture on uneconomic farms would produce lower socialization levels. Limitation of

[4] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 82.

population, education, machinery, high efficiency per man, immigration restriction, and larger economic units are of great importance as a basis for building a community of the higher cultural types. The small farms, with their lower social levels, give us a hint of the dangers of an over-populated country-side.

In the Western Iowa Survey [5] the farmers who were leaders in farm bureaus and who averaged 50 percent higher in social contacts operated farms of half-section size. The average farm in that country is 177.3 acres. A list of the eight most progressive counties in Iowa, socially, is also a list of those that have an average farm value of $56,124 as compared to $39,941 for the entire state. In Orange township, Blackhawk County, Iowa, five farmer leaders had 236 acres, while the average-size farm for the township was 157.2 acres.

We have a serious problem in uneconomic-sized farms. Districts run to farms far below the size best adapted to their type of agricultural economy. Just as the maintenance of a knot of ramshackle, unsanitary tenements attracts a slum population with pauper standards of living, just so does a region cut into unsocial, peasant-sized farms beget a rural slum with anti-social standards. Iowa is chiseled into farms approaching the right economic and sociological size; and these have small attraction for peasants. The low rate of illiteracy and the high educational standards of the State of Iowa are largely a result of its type of large-scale, machine agriculture which did not fit the recent, low-type immigrant from Southeastern Europe.

That rural Iowa has been filled by the older Northern European immigration and has been spared the recent stream from Southeastern Europe, is attested by the fact that in 1920 only about 8.8 percent of its rural people were foreign born. Only 4 percent of the foreign-born in Iowa belong to Austria, Italy, and Russia. There are in rural Iowa only 3660 negroes of the type that flocked into the small 15-and-20-acre farms of the South to create un-social conditions.

The size of the farm relates quite directly to the value of the home and its equipment. Data gathered from Livingston County, New York, show that 30-acre farms had houses valued at $1,810.

INFLUENCE OF WEALTH ON SOCIAL CONTACTS

While the possession of wealth or the receipt of enlarged incomes is valuable evidence as to the level of socialization, there are many instances

[5] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities*, Chap. IX, p. 24. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

in which such testimony is misleading. This is on account of the law of substitution, by which gifts of money are substituted for personal service. The person who has little money to contribute to the church feels more obligated to give service.

In the Social Efficiency Survey of six Western Iowa communities, an effort was made to determine something of the influence of wealth and income upon the social contacts. In one community all of the farmers who paid income taxes had a sociological rating 150 to 200 points above the norm. The only exceptions were a few farmers who had gotten their wealth by speculation, penuriousness, or inheritance. Many of the wealthier farmers with a higher income rating had returned into the towns and records were taken of these. In this record 25 wealthy and retired farmers were compared with the average farmer, with the result that the average farmer was found to have 571.9, and the wealthier farmer 604.4 social contacts.[6] Moreover, the wealthier farmer,[7] whose wealth ranged from $30,000 to $100,000, had 34.8 contacts in church while the average farmer had 24.5. The former, also, had 18 social contacts in playing games, while the latter had 8. Whereas the wealthier farmer secured 36 contacts with educational books, the less wealthy farmer secured 14. For annual, social contacts with chautauquas and lyceums, the respective figures were 4.5 and 2.5.

The retired farmers had some advantage on account of their greater degree of accessibility to social events and meetings. In most communities this was a small factor, because, during seasons when the roads were good, all farmers were within ten minutes of town. The retired farmer is often of the social type that moves into town to secure greater advantages in the way of schools, clubs, and social life. Moreover, he has more leisure.

Occasionally, there is a case of mental poverty where the blight of greed has stricken the green leaf of expanding personality. More ability and energy is invested in financial deals than in social service, while social and human contacts follow such channels as may be dictated by the diplomacy of business.

In general, however, the tendency is towards a higher social level, making it quite logical to regard agricultural prosperity as correlated with the social and cultural progress, and representing a sound basis for increased socialization.

[6] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. IX, p. 24.
[7] *Ibid.*

INFLUENCE OF WEALTH ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONSOLIDATED SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, AND FARM BUREAU WORK

In this connection it might be of interest to compare a select area in Iowa with the state. The first part of this area is in Northwestern Iowa, excluding the river counties; the second is in Central Iowa; the third comprises Cherokee, Buena Vista, Clay, and O'Brien counties; the fourth includes Story, Marshall, Hardin, Dallas, and Boone counties. Within these counties are 95 consolidated schools. It is interesting, not only to note that the average value of the farms in this area is $51,969, while the average for the state is $39,941, but also that the average value of the land per acre in this more highly developed school and farm organization area is $253.05 per acre as compared to $199.52 for the state. Now, to make a consolidated school practicable, there must be a certain minimum amount of taxable property within the 30 or 60 sections which compose the community. Without state or federal aid in appreciable amounts, the districts where lower priced land prevails are menaced with almost-confiscatory, tax-millage rates. The counties and areas which have few consolidated schools and a limited development in farmers' organizations also have the lowest land value per farm and per acre. Thus in two counties that have only two consolidated schools, the value of the farms is $33,927 and $19,060 respectively. While community wealth does not always mean a willingness to expand the educational program, it tends to remove a telling financial argument against better schools.

It is also noteworthy that it is within these consolidated school districts that farm bureaus, clubs, parks, farmers' elevators, and community centers show their greatest development. A study of library development in Nebraska reveals the correlation between the economic development of a region and its social level. Rankin [8] reports that in Lancaster County, where between 70 and 80 percent of the people had library facilities, the value of the land was $159.75 per acre. The outstanding counties to make use of traveling libraries were Boone, Lancaster, Hamilton, Herrick, Saunders, and Dodge. These counties have land values averaging $172.88, more than twice the average for the state.

Eastern Nebraska, with its good farming area, has most of the library and social facilities, while the western part of the state, which is in the semi-arid belt and has poorer farming facilities, has few of these advantages.

[8] Rankin, J. O., *Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes.* Nebraska University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 180, p. 2.

IS WEALTH THE CAUSE OF THE RESULT OF SOCIALIZATION?

To what extent is wealth a means of social control? In our present society, an enormous power over all the desirable things of life is ascribed to money, and consequently many believe that to give the farmers a "burst of prosperity" means that we shall have an *instantaneous* and *rapid* rise in the curve of socialization! Most of our efforts social, political, and economic have been directed towards the creation of pecuniary weal. Education, intelligence, and institutional progress are regarded as sequelæ of wealth and income. Perhaps there has never been a greater illusion than this. The fact that wealth and socialization occur together in civilized peoples gives no valid ground for assuming that one is cause and the other is result. The truth is that the same conditions which create a higher social and cultural level also create wealth, once such wealth is regarded as a necessary, material foundation for progress. Although social ambitions do create wealth, once it is regarded as a necessary basis for success, wealth has small power, *per se*, to create a higher social and cultural level. For wealth can only redirect and liberate those wants that are potential. Its potency over socialization does not extend much above the lower middle classes.

Thus there can be little doubt that the human side of rural progress has been overlooked. In our efforts to improve the externals of rural life, we have overlooked the agencies and factors which would directly improve the human side of country living. Eugenics, education, community organization, intelligence tests, clinics, social service, and other institutions that bear directly on the production of better folks have often been neglected and under-financed. Certainly, if we solve the man side of agriculture, the material side should quite easily adjust itself, for it not only takes under-educated and under-socialized human beings to fit into the slum, but ignorant human beings to reconcile themselves to a bad system of economic and social organization. And it should be observed that many communities lack prosperity, first, because the intelligence and social level of the farming population is too low to negotiate successfully the diversified type of farming that would bring success, and, second, because their one-crop type of grain farming gluts the market and exhausts the soil.

THE FARMERS' WEALTH, INCOME, AND SURPLUS TIME; THEIR SOCIAL ADEQUACY

Never has history known such a high average wealth as that of the corn-belt farmer; never has there been such a wide distribution of middle-

class standard among a great mass of people. Almost phenomenal has been the rise in land values in such regions as Iowa, where, in many cases, ordinary farms soared to $300 or $400 per acre. Certainly, agricultural history has never recorded a period when a quarter million of farmer-worked farms were worth nearly $40,000 a-piece. Temporarily, the business depression has given this prosperity a back-set, but we still have a basis for a future era of profitable agriculture.

Figures indicate that the rural people have increased their wealth faster than those of the city. While 56.4 percent of the people lived in the country in 1900, they possessed only 25 percent of the wealth. In 1920 our rural population comprised only two-fifths of the population, but had over one-third of the wealth. It should be noted that two-thirds of the wealth of the average farm is in the form of land. In 1920 the average American farm sold over $3000 worth of crops, animals, and animal products. The farmer belongs to the economic class, comprising our small business men, our skilled laborers, and most of our professional people. Probably one quarter of our agriculturists receive labor incomes ranging from $1000 to $3000.

The income and wealth of the corn-belt farmer is, in normal times, sufficient to attain a higher level of socialization than the city. In fact there is nothing, barring agricultural depressions, in the wealth and income factor that is a serious bar to the maximum socialization of three-fourths of the farmers, a fact which goes to show that our future emphasis must be on such control factors as education, eugenics, vital religion, and efficient, community social-engineering.

Improved machinery and scientific methods have permitted one man to do the work of five or ten. Because of the rapid expansion of material wants, however, most of this surplus man-power and human time has been used in enormously increasing the per capita production of commodities. Thus, while population in the United States trebled from 1850 to 1900, manufactures showed a 12-fold increase in the value of the products.

At first thought it would seem that, whenever a population would discover means to produce its commodities in one-third of the time, it would immediately devote the surplus two-thirds of the day to leisure and cultural activities. These more intellectual and spiritual functions cannot, however, be discharged unless a certain minimum of physical comforts and conveniences are obtained. Men do not tend either to study or hold club meetings on dirt floors, where log walls let in the winter breeze. Oxcarts and corduroy roads do not favor a complex organization of interest groups. Under the 1823 speed of production, people were putting up

with a meager primitive existence, devoid of the bare requirements for even a decent standard of life. At least, this was true of all save a few of the rich. But as soon as men were liberated from the grim necessity of raising food, hewing out homes, and making clothes by hand, they began to manufacture some of the things fondly desired for physical comfort. Furthermore, as men were liberated from making these seemingly necessary things, they turned their attention to a new set of wants—at first termed luxuries—such as pianos, phonographs, telephones, autos, picture films, cameras, which, in proportion to their bulk, required a great amount of labor-time.

However, after a certain minimum of physical convenience has been obtained, wants tend to shift in the direction of the psychic, educational, and social, which are satisfied, not by physical commodities, but by human services acting in professional capacity. Thus, in the last decade there has been a phenomenal increase in the professions which have to do with rendering human services. Naturally such work as promotes contact with human beings in their cultural life socializes not only the performers but the consumers of these non-material goods.

ECONOMIC LABOR AS A SOCIALIZING AGENCY

The social engineer faces a vital problem in the organization of industry in factory and on farm so that it can make a direct contribution to socialization. Why should not man's economic activities have as one of their direct purposes a social and cultural return? One of the prerequisites for humanizing and socializing work is to remove the element of drudgery, so as to lend adventure, sport, and creativeness to the task. Many of the modern writers who are working at the problem of good-will among workers make much of what they term "the creative instinct in industry." They tell us that there is another motive for work other than money-making, and that workmen express, even in work hours, their desire to construct, to make things, and to fashion materials. Work satisfies an elemental demand of human nature, which in some measure would operate even without financial reward. Vocational guidance, replacing the present hit-or-miss way of choosing a life work, will do much to revolutionize industry by adding to it a great fund of happiness, positive attitudes, and social values. The person who despises his task will always regard it as a drudgery and a necessary evil and its socializing power will be nil. There is no incentive to study the work as an art; there is no disposition to relate the particular task with the industry as a whole.

We have been considering the philosophy of work as a contributor to human socialization in a general way. Let our analysis now direct itself to isolating some of the more specific elements which give work socializing or de-socializing power. Many comparisons will be noticed as we study agricultural and industrial activities with this motive in view.

The first element is the solitary character as contrasted with the group or gang character of work. While factory and street work throws men into gangs, farm work tends to isolate them. City laborers are thus under the socializing influence of the gang psychology, which develops gang standards, gang ethics, and gang morality.

A few operations, such as threshing and silo-filling, draw together half a neighborhood into a co-operative gang. The zest with which a solitary worker will drop his hoe to join a threshing gang shows the sub-conscious hunger for gang life. But, generally, the farmer gangs with his livestock and plants rather than with folks.

Another sociological factor in vocation is the cultural surroundings of the work, and its accessibility to socializing institutions. Types of industry differ considerably in these respects. Thus work in the forests of Alaska means little, if any, social return, while work in proximity to an art museum or historical library means opportunity for considerable psychic return. Types of work which call for travel tend to bring people into contact with new groups, places, and scenes, and so break down provincialism. Work in a university town is done at a lower rate by those who are seeking education. And agriculture, with its natural surroundings, should also be cultural; for nature, in all her moods and transformations, has a socializing element. But, unfortunately, the small amount of nature-training limits the appreciative power of people who work in the open fields. Botany, biology, entomology, meteorology, and chemistry should have more than a technical value to the farmer. If taught right, they should contribute a deeper appreciative value to the clouds, the soil, the plant life, the animal life, which make up rural environment, and which so sharply contrast to the city where materials of trade, the streets, buildings, machines, and streams of traffic are almost entirely man-made. Pioneer life was cut off from such cultural agencies as libraries, art galleries, clubs, motion pictures, and educational lectures; but in the new age of rapid communication most of these socializing institutions have been moved nearer to rural people.

The factor of home life constitutes a very important consideration in evaluating occupation sociologically. Life in railroad box cars is

an environment that does not engender definite human ties. Certain traveling positions are almost devoid of any socializing influence of family life.

The boarding, or lodging-house system, under which our immigrant works in our large industrial corporations, develops a roving restless population with few interests that stimulate citizenship. Ross [9] characterizes one of these homeless labor communities thus: "In case it is too remote or rude to attract home-making women, *e.g.*,—in the Far North or on the rim of civilization—its population is a continual flux, for the men tire of a womanless life and presently return to 'God's Country' to marry and 'settle down.' Such a community becomes the theater of a ruthless greed, for its denizens treat it not as *home,* but as merely a place for making money. No one cares for the future of the country. . . . With the coming of women, homes, and children, the temper of the community changes. . . . Men begin to lay deep foundations for law and morality when they expect to rear their children in the community." Some of the influences are due to the absence of women and one-sex community; but others are due to lack of home environment. It has been well said, "No man ever fought for his boarding house." When reared on a population of migratory apartment dwellers, society is on shifting sands. Where children are a nuisance and neighborhood is but an incident, religion, ideals, and social standards break down under such a flux, until our institutions show disintegration, while destructive processes of socialization outrun the constructive. As yet, the outstanding argument for wholesome social institutions is the home, so much so, that factory owners, in order to check the canker of discontent and bolshevism, are developing housing for workers and assisting the building of permanent homes.

Farming, as an industry, centers around home life. The family is an economic asset and constitutes an industrial unit. While manufacturing has, in modern nations, evolved out of the home-craft stage, agriculture has not. There are few farm operations that remove the farmer from the home. He rarely "dines out" as does the city man. For each meal the family gathers around the table as a common discussional group. The proverbial chores demand the farmer's presence at home, morning and night, workday and Sunday. Agriculture stands first from the standpoint of domesticity. We, as a nation, are looking forward to the rural district for our sturdy American citizenship and our bulwark against precipitate social change.

Work, to exert its full socializing and educational effect, should

[9] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology,* p. 7. The Century Co., 1920.

be made an art. With the professionalization of work, standards and ideals are erected which tend to enhance the social and cultural value of the work. The recognition of agriculture, by terming it an art, gives it social prestige and dignity. Under such influence there is a tendency to draw out the finer part of the personality for a more complete expression. It thus becomes a work worthy of the well-educated; worthy of artistic, rather than commercial motives. The ordinary toiler drudges for his subsistence, while the worker with a professional background becomes an artisan and builder. As we strive to new levels of excellence, there is a parallel evolution of his personality.

"COMMUNIZATION" OF WEALTH AND SOCIALIZATION

We have noticed that the main influence of wealth upon socialization, outside of its selective aspect, is through its power over the equipment for culturization. In primitive society and ancient village communities, there was no institution known as private wealth or property; yet, much of the evolution of the race to higher levels of socialization occurred during this epoch. Private wealth is only one of the possible systems or devices for speeding the social process.

To the extent that the equipment for socialization becomes "communized," private wealth becomes less and less a direct factor in social efficiency. In the future the tenant, the agricultural laborer, and the less prosperous farmer will not be at a disadvantage in securing a rich supply of social contacts. Even, at present, with public consolidated schools, free libraries, radios, public lecture courses, cheap publications, and open club houses, the poor man, provided he has the interests, appreciation, and social viewpoint, can get a good supply of social contacts. Communal societies, such as the Old Agricultural Village, the Phalansteres of Texas and Indiana, the New Harmony Societies, and the Iowa Amana Society, eliminated the disadvantages of private control of socializing equipment and unequal distribution of wealth, but they brought about certain evils that limited the range and power of their social contacts.

Social life in the old communal group was based on a solidarity of traditional religion, language, race, and of clan. It was characterized by such anti-social phenomena as exclusiveness, isolation, and the rule of the old and traditional. Can we attain the wide distribution of consumable goods without the deadening effect of communism? If so, we can almost eliminate economic inequalities as a factor in socialization and greatly accelerate the process of cultural growth.

One of the interesting experiments in this direction is that of colonizing a model community, planned beforehand, on lines designed to facilitate the socialization of all members of the community. A village with modern cottages is laid out on a beautiful, landscape-gardening scheme with such institutions as consolidated schools, community churches, libraries, art museums, community play-grounds, theaters, and community centers. By living in close proximity, the farmers naturally get many social contacts. Since the people who can be induced to colonize this model social community with its communism of socializing equipment may be, to a large extent, a select group of sociable people, community life runs strong from the very start. Finally, less socialized people may be induced to become shareholders in corporations that are as anxious to attain socialization as efficient agriculture. Such experiments are being conducted in California, following the Mead colonization plan. Such schemes of community-building involve certain interesting features, such as a farmers' village—surrounded by model farmsteads laid out by agricultural experts—co-operative stores, laundries, dairies, and slaughter-houses, amortization payment-plans, and standardized breeds of cattle. In short, the full benefits of community solidarity, complete co-operation in buying and selling, and communal use of expensive machinery is attained.

As far as program and structure are concerned, this type of development practically forces the community into a ready-made mold. The mind of the engineer goes ahead with its ideal scheme, patiently awaiting the conversion of the public to the new idea. The only problem is to conform to the conditions. Such laboratory, or what may be better termed experimental, communities will doubtless usher in a new era for the science of rural sociology. For the most part, however, we shall have to bring about the communityization of social equipment and the rebuilding of the community by the "make-over" process—a process by which we graft in new shoots on the old trunk of previously existing community organizations.

It is quite evident, then, that there is a strong tendency to so communityize our opportunities for utilizing the mechanisms of socialization, that when it comes to developing the social personality of the mass, wealth-and-income inequalities will lose much of their power. Socialization will be made a matter of education, natural intelligence, eugenics, and community organization rather than an accumulation of material wealth.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Will man's power to produce keep pace with his wants? Why?
2. What demarcates a primitive civilization from a modern civilization? A progressive, rural community from a backward one?
3. Discuss the statement: "Wealth is the password to higher social levels." Is the struggle for wealth as intense in the country as in the city? Why? Why is conspicuous consumption so prevalent in urban society? Relate this to the tendency of city possessions to take on invisible form.
4. Is wealth and leisure time for culture so closely related today as 200 years ago? Why? Are well-to-do farmers apt to be better leaders than the less well-to-do? Explain.
5. Is the way in which wealth is attained important from the socialization angle? Are the wealth-getting powers more significant than the wealth amassed by these powers? Is the wealthy farmer the result of ability, education, and intelligence, or is the opposite the case? To what extent does wealth and farm ownership have a selective power over education and intelligence?
6. Discuss the farm and its capital in relation to family social efficiency. Relate wealth to social contacts.
7. Correlate the development of social institutions with land values and agricultural prosperity. Is the correlation necessary?
8. Will the socialization efficiency of an individual continue to rise as his income and wealth increases? What is meant by "the point of diminishing returns"? Does poverty impede socialization today as much as formerly? Is poverty the result of the lack of intelligence and education rather than of wealth? Does this explain the under-socialization of the poor? Are the rich, also, liable to be abnormal in their social development?
9. Will the farmers' wealth and income support a high socialization level under the modern conditions of cheap books, music, and culture? Compare the farmer with other classes of income receivers with respect to his wealth and labor return.
10. Is there a social and spiritual value derived from work apart from its money-return? Do school children emphasize this sufficiently in choosing their vocation? Why? List the types of work that have a high socialization value. List those that have a low socialization value. What elements in work socialize? Evaluate farm work from this angle. House work.

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CHAPTER XII

ECONOMIC FACTORS IN SOCIALIZATION; LAND OCCUPANCY

WHY TENANCY HAS SOCIAL ASPECTS

Socialization has always been conditioned by locality and geography. The terms and circumstances of a man's residence have always entered into his social relations. One of the strong foundations of like-mindedness and similar experience, which develops "we feeling," has been the neighborhood or local bond. Anything which shifts the residence casts the family adrift from its social moorings.

The type of land occupancy acts as a selective factor on population. A poor system of tenancy, with small farms, poor equipment, and short tenure inevitably attracts the ignorant, and migratory type of tenant, if such exists. No farmer with ability would move into such a region, and work under such disadvantageous conditions. "A cheap coat makes a cheap man." A poor system of tenancy begets a poor tenant. The large land holdings, cut up into small, poorly-equipped, tenant farms and run on the basis of merely keeping it going with a minimum of expenditure while holding out for speculative gains, soon populates with a roving people, while churches, schools, and homes degenerate. Agricultural slums are often found in areas of Iowa and Illinois which are largely owned by Eastern land speculators under a system of one-year, one-crop tenancy. Just as a block of shacks in the city draws delinquents and paupers, so does a set of run-down farms and farm homes draw a set of "ne'er do wells" to "skin" the land. Under such conditions a vicious circle is created, going from poorer farming to poorer population and back again. Community institutions mildew and decay. There must be a population basis for community building; there must be a tenure and occupancy basis for a population.

The tenant who expects to remain only one year in a community is not anxious to join the farm bureau or the church. He feels that he can ill afford to invest money and time in community buildings when another will reap the reward. Where business relations are unstable and continually shifting, the basis of association will be unstable.

Of late the social aspects of tenancy have received considerable attention from economic and social writers. Even political scientists have taken notice of this side of land occupancy. Government subsidization of schemes for owning homes and land has been justified as an investment in citizenship and sound government. Following this principle European countries have advanced hundreds of millions of dollars to transform a country of tenants into one of land owners. Factories initiate "Home Building and Loan Associations" to save labor turn-over and stabilize population conditions. That nobody ever voted for his boarding house, is quite a current viewpoint. The greatest bulwark of democracy and the most impregnable defense against subversive movements is a nation of home owners and farm owners.

INCREASE IN TENANCY, AND FACTORS IN THIS INCREASE

During the last 10 or 15 years, due to its marked increase, particularly in the richer agricultural areas, tenancy has engrossed the attention of hundreds of writers, legislators, and rural sociologists. In 1880 25.6 percent of the American farms were operated by tenants. In 1920 38.1 percent of the farms of the United States were operated by tenants. Present conditions indicate that by at least 1950 fully one-half of our farms will be operated by tenants.

In European countries the rate of tenancy varies. In 1907 three-fourths of the farmers of Germany owned their farms. In England hardly one-fifth own their farms. In China 71.9 percent and in Japan, 71.5 percent of the farmers own or partly own their farms. Many factors enter in to influence the tenant rate. Education, race, standards of life, size of farms, development of land policies, colonization schemes, credit facilities, government subsidization of ownership have all played a part in the process. While a nation of land-owning farmers tends to be a stable and conservative population, the general principle can be asserted that unless an economic-sized farm goes with the ownership, they will not maintain high standards of life.

THE TENANT PROBLEM IS NOT LIMITED TO AGRICULTURE

In instability of occupational or locational tenure, the farmer is not the major offender. The tendency to change locations is a population habit, developed under the stimulus of restive, dynamic, twentieth-century living. In the United States the average tenure of the rural teacher at one place

is less than two years. School superintendents, ministers, and laborers all have a high turn-over. In contrast 56.6 percent of the American tenants stay over two years on a farm, while 25.4 percent stay over five years.

There has been much incriminating talk about tenancy, and in a large amount of our literature it has been unequivocally branded as an evil. Not enough consideration has been given to its more constructive and advantageous aspects.

It should be recognized, in the first place, that *tenancy is merely one symptom or aspect of a dynamic civilization, where opportunities for changing status are abundant.* Tenure is stable in static civilizations where a rigid caste system prevails; yet, few of us would want to buy occupational stability at such a price.

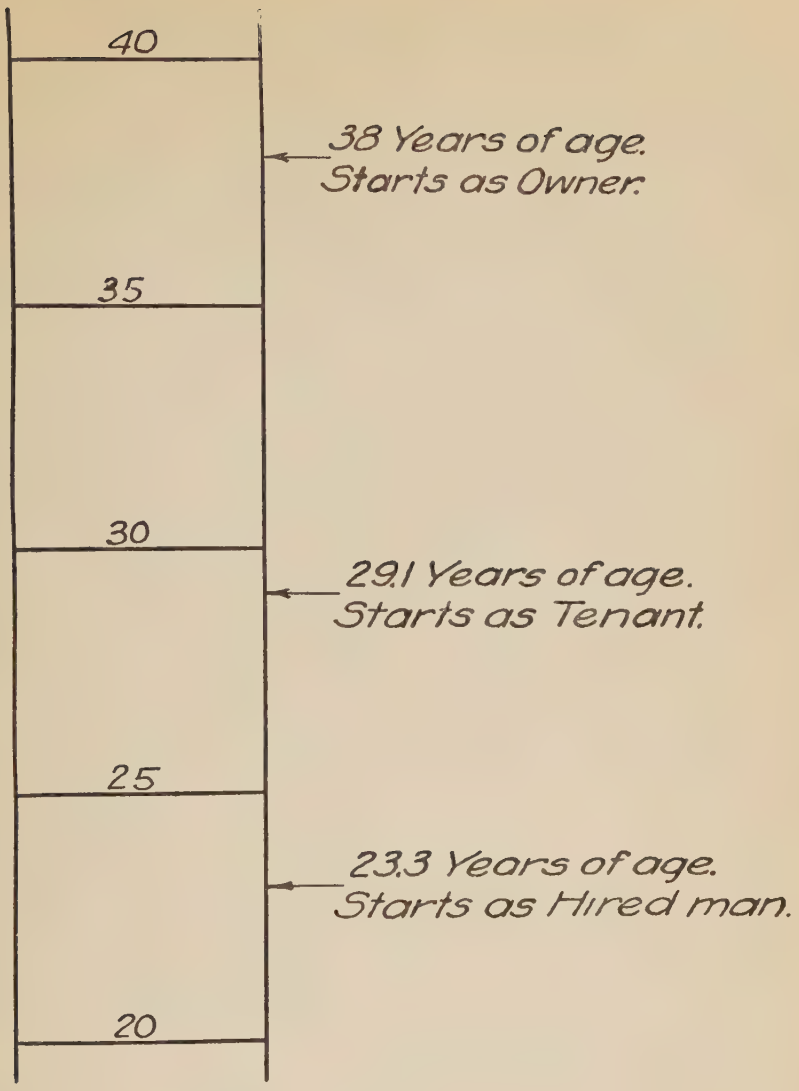
In the second place, we should realize *that tenancy offers an opportunity of apprenticeship for the young man in practical farming* before he takes on the obligations of farm owner. Without a fourth of the financial risk, he can become an entrepreneur and secure the experience of operating a $50,000 farm plant. The young college man, who has trained himself to become a professional farmer, has little capital to start on, and yet he desires an economic-sized farm which will give him a high labor return and a comfortable standard of life. So he becomes a tenant, and figures show, that in so doing, he secures a labor return materially higher than that of the land owner. The young tenant avoids such overhead charges as high taxes and expensive depreciations. Thus tenancy is a stage or step in the agricultural ladder, illustrated by the diagram on page 233.

It should also be noted that the time taken to climb this rung from tenancy to ownership has increased from 5.2 years, 31-40 years ago, to 11.1 years in 1920. Out of 27.3 years of farming 11.1 years must and perhaps should be spent as a tenant. Thus we should expect a tenancy rate of one-third as quite normal. In the United States at least 44 percent of all farm owners have operated as tenants, and those who skipped the stage did so mostly by inheritance or marriage.

In the third place, the corn-belt *tenant secures a more economic-sized business.* Thus the average-sized tenant farm in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, is 134.5 acres and the owner farm 112.2 acres.

In the fourth place, *tenancy circulates population sufficiently to prevent inbreeding of stock and ideas.* It is a mitigant of provincialism and localism.

In the fifth place, *tenancy offers a means of escape from risky ownership* during unstable times of speculation and over-capitalized land values.



The American Agricultural Ladder
From 1915 to 1920

FIGURE 29

Time spent in various stages by farmers who, having had farm experience both as tenants and as wage earners, became owner farmers between 1915 and 1920, census of 1920.

See U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Year Book 1923, p. 557.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF TENANCY

The factor of relatedness. The older studies of tenancy made no discrimination between the different types of tenants. Tenancy was just tenancy. Lately various rural sociologists have begun to call attention to the fact that there is much sociological difference between the related and the unrelated tenant. The related tenant is a prospective owner on account of inheritance. He has generally had the stimulus of an education by his land-owning father, and tends to be a stable, progressive citizen. The unrelated tenant is more often of the migratory type, coming from the ranks of those older men who have made a failure of their attempts at farm ownership. He is not a prospective owner through inheritance and so does not think of the community as his permanent home. Thus 17.7 percent[1] of the non-farm-owning, related tenants in the Cedar County survey area had been on their present farms 10 years or more. For non-farm-owning, unrelated tenants the comparative figure is 7.7 percent. About one-third of the related tenants, as compared with nearly three-fifths of the unrelated tenants, had been on the farm one year or less. Over twice as large a proportion of related tenants had finished high school as of the unrelated. About 8 percent of the related tenants had carried some college work; none of the unrelated had attended college. Over one-third of the related[2] tenants in this area intended to become operating owners, while scarcely one-quarter of the unrelated tenants cherished a like ambition. Many surveys indicate that something over one-third of the tenants are related, which means that about this number are on a social parity with the land owner as far as labor return, education, and citizenship are concerned. If the tenant rate is 40 percent, the objectionable rate would not be much above 20 percent. Galpin and Hoag[3] show that, from 1909-1918, 40.8 percent of "related farms" in their Wisconsin area experienced shifts, while in a similar period, 77.3 percent of the "unrelated farms" registered shifts.

The age of the tenant. Ely's review of a study of 2112 farms in five states[4] indicates that, among farmers 35 to 45 years of age, only about

[1] Von Tungeln, Kirkpatrick, Hoffer, and Thaden. *The Social Aspects of Rural Life and Farm Tenantry in Cedar County, Iowa.* Iowa State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 217, pp. 446-463.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

[3] Galpin and Hoag, *Farm Tenancy.* Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin No. 44, p. 17.

[4] Ely, R. T., "Tenancy Ideal System of Landownership," *American Economic Review,* March, 1919, p. 185.

one-third are tenants. Among farmers 55-56 years of age, only about one-fifth are tenants. Under 25 years of age, three-fourths are tenants.

For the young tenant, tenancy represents a natural stage in his climb up the agricultural ladder. He may be educated, ambitious, and progressive. He is, in many cases, a potential owner, and in over one-quarter of the cases, related. On the other hand, the older tenant is the one who has, through inefficiency or bad luck, failed to scale the agricultural ladder. He has often lost hope, and so expects to spend the rest of his life as tenant. He is likely to have less than an eighth grade education and to maintain a low standard of living.

It is the writer's observation that most of this older "ne'er-do-well" type of tenants, who seek out isolated sections away from the stress of competition, operate in the rougher, poorer areas of the corn-belt. Thus a youthful tenantry may be an asset to a neighborhood socially while an old tenantry is a liability. For this reason the age of the tenant is important. Farmers [5] who go through the tenant stage become owners at 36½ years while those that skip the tenant stage become owners at 29 years of age. Iowa surveys give further data: "Approximately 6 out of every 10 owners are between 35 and 54 years of age with 13.6 percent younger than 35 years of age, and twice this percentage older than 54 years. Of the related tenants 63.9 percent are under 35 years and of the unrelated only 43.6 percent."

Marital relations of the tenant. Studies in Cedar County, Iowa, show [6] that the average age of owners at the time of marriage was between 27 and 28 years, that of related tenants was between 25 and 26 years, and that of unrelated tenants less than 25 years. "Thirty percent of the owners' wives married under 21 years, . . . and 48 percent of the unrelated tenants' wives married under 21 years." The earliness of marriage is an indicator of the socialization level of a people or a class. The more ambitious, educated, and forward-looking a class, the more they tend to postpone their marriages. The boy who drops out of school early in the grades tends to marry earlier and settle down. His standard of life is lower and he is therefore willing to begin the marriage career with a comparatively meager home and farm equipment.

In some cases early marriage, with a large family, prevents the education and saving which would elevate the young man into farm ownership, indicating the characteristic recklessness of a more primitive type. It

[5] *American Economic Review*, March, 1919, p. 185.
[6] Von Tungeln, Kirkpatrick, Hoffer, and Thaden, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-443.

should also be recognized that our tenants belong to a younger age-group and so must have chosen wives during a more recent period when a larger proportion of men 20-24 years of age were marrying. There seems to be, however, an element of truth in the theory, that the unrelated tenant is a "select" from a more subnormal type.

Human efficiency of tenant. To a large degree the tenant has been judged from the angle of productive agriculture with emphasis upon his ability to "build up" soil and raise grain.

Gray [7] and others issued this statement regarding the acre-yield ability of tenants: "However, comparisons of yield per acre for a number of surveys do not point to definite conclusions. In some surveys tenant farms show a higher average yield, while in other surveys the advantage is with the owner farmers. . . . In short, it appears that the question whether tenants or owner farmers are the more efficient as measured by crop production per acre cannot be conclusively answered except with reference to the particular locality under consideration."

Surveys [8] show little variation between owners and tenants as far as the crop rotation system is concerned, except that cash tenants lean somewhat towards corn.

Such incriminations as "skimming the cream from the land," "allowing the buildings and fences to run down," "corning the land," "negligence in fertilizing the soil," "lack of purebred livestock," etc., are brought against the tenant by popular writers and orators. However, to put all tenancy in this class, would be a serious and reprehensible error. Sweeping classifications are generally apt to lead to fallacious conclusions and cause much misunderstanding in the popular mind.

We have been thinking of tenant efficiency in terms of yield per acre rather than yield per man. It may be that the tenant has a more extensive type of agriculture, and economizes labor at the expense of land and capital. We have seen that in the corn belt the tenant farm is larger. In Iowa tenants operate farms averaging 167 acres in size, while owners operate farms averaging 148 acres. Holmes [9] shows that in five Iowa counties owners work a $42,540 business, cash tenants work a $50,913 business, crop-share tenants work a $26,858 business, and stock-share tenants work a $49,102 business. In Iowa the crop-share tenants are in

[7] Gray, L. C., *Farm Ownership and Tenancy.* United States Yearbook of Department of Agriculture, 1923, pp. 573-575.

[8] *Farm Ownership and Tenancy.* United States Yearbook of Department of Agriculture, 1923, pp. 573-575.

[9] Holmes, C. L., *Relation of Types of Tenancy to Types of Farming in Iowa,* Iowa State College Agriculture Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 214, p. 348.

the minority and constitute a lower type. Lloyd shows that the tenant [10] who works a $20,000-$30,000 business receives a labor return of $1,084 while those who work a $50,000-$60,000 business get $1,750. In a study [11] of 965 farms made in Blackhawk, Grundy, and Tama counties, Iowa, in 1913, it was found that the "Average labor income for owners was $253, of owners additional $961, and of tenants $1,315. . . . In regions where the price of land has become more stabilized the average labor incomes of owners and tenants are not greatly different." On the whole the tenant who has sufficient capital will get a greater labor return and standard of life than the average land-owning farmer.

The tenant's social life. The range of difference is not considerable in the matter of social exposures to books, newspaper, and music, but mounts to appreciable proportions in the field of social contacts in churches, clubs, and farmers' meetings. The tenant shows more preference for fraternal societies. The first thing he does, when coming from an old to a new community, is to give his pass word and enter the lodge, where he is assured of brotherhood and immediate fellowship.

Kirkpatrick [12] shows that the owner of a farm below 50 acres had 165 units of social value per family and the tenant on the same type of farm, 182. On the medium-sized farms ranging from 150 to 199 acres, the tenants had 195 units of social value as compared with 211 for the owner. The average for all farms was 201 U. of S. V. for the owners and 186 U. of S. V. for the tenant. In this study the range due to the size of farm was 166 to 237 acres, and that due to the tenancy factor 186 to 201. The range of the farm family with both parents of eighth grade education to farm families where both parents had a college training, was from 169 U. of S. V. to 284 U. of S. V. This was over 7 times the range due to the tenancy factor and 50 percent more than that due to the size of farm. In the Monona County studies the range of social contacts due to the occupancy factor was from 338.5 to 441.4 while that due to education was from 574.8 to 1000. There can be little doubt that the tenancy factor has been overworked from the standpoint of controlling the socialization of farmers, while such factors as education and size of farm have been underestimated.

Education of the tenant and the tenants' children. Wehrwein

[10] Lloyd, L. L., *Farm Leases in Iowa.* Iowa State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 159, p. 159.

[11] Munger, H. B., *Iowa Farm Management Surveys.* Iowa State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 198, p. 363.

[12] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming.* Cornell University Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 423, pp. 78-95.

in his study [13] in Travis County found a higher rate of illiteracy among tenant families, 4 percent for the men and 1.9 percent for the women. While 22 percent of the owner-men and 21 percent of the wives of owners reach high school, only 8 percent of the tenants and 15 percent of their wives reach this stage. Two tenants out of 103 reached college as compared to 14 owners out of 137. Naturally illiteracy and low-grade education run higher among the negro owners and tenants, as was indicated by the survey. Kirkpatrick's [14] study indicates that in 5.9 percent of the tenant's homes both parents had an eleventh or twelfth grade education, as compared with 8.9 percent of the owner homes. Almost three percent of the tenant homes had two parents with four years in college as compared with slightly over two percent of the owner homes. Iowa studies [15] show that the owner-operators excel in college education and the tenants in high school education.

The fact that tenants excel the owners in this area, from the standpoint of high school education, is due to the age grouping. Consolidated schools, transportation to town high schools, and secondary school facilities in general were undeveloped during the educational period of the older farm owner, but quite well developed during the educational periods of the tenant. The greater amount of college training, on the part of the owners, may be attributed to the fact that many of these land-owning farmers are young men who were sent to college by their well-to-do fathers and have not as yet taken over the farm. The same factors hold true for

[13] Haney and Wehrwein, *A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County, Texas.* Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 65, pp. 42-43.

[14] Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[15] Bulletin No. 193, p. 233, of the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, gives the following table relating to rural education:

Education of Owner-Operators, Tenants and Wives

Extent of Education	Owner Operators				Tenants			
	Operators		Wives		Operators		Wives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Common school or less	25	83⅓	27	96⅜	39	70 10/11	36	75
High school or equivalent ...	2	6⅔	1	3⅗	11	20	10	20⅚
College or University	3	10	0	0	5	9 1/11	2	4⅙
Total	30 *	100	28 †	100	55	100	48 ‡	100

* These figures include one woman operator and one operator who has had no school training.
† One operator has no wife.
‡ Seven tenants have no wives.

their wives. For the most part the educational difference between tenants and farmers in the corn belt is small, and mostly a matter of variation between certain intelligence or biological types.

It is evident that the tenant will not have educated as large a percent of his children in high school or college because a larger proportion of his children are below that particular age. Thus while 73 out of 265 of the children [16] of farm owners had reached twelfth grade, only 9 out of 50 children of related tenants had reached this level. The tenant child has the manifest disadvantage of continually changing teachers and schools, which tends to retard his climb up the educational ladder. Bizzell [17] shows that counties having a low percentage of tenancy have $32.55 of school property per child, 89 percent enrollment, 52 percent attendance, and a 135 day school year. Districts with a high tenancy have $13.76 of school property per child, 81 percent enrollments, 47 percent attendance, and 117 days in the school term.

The racial aspects of tenantry. We should always be alert for the entrance of the racial factors in certain regions; and, in drawing our deductions concerning tenancy and tenantry, we should realize that we may be making racial rather than occupancy comparisons. Tenancy often acts as a magnet or selective agent for certain races. Thus Southern tenancy is more a problem of the Mexican and the Negro than of the South's land system, while California tenancy is more the problem of the Japanese. Neither ownership nor a long leasehold would remove this race problem. In these cases social and physical standards of life are due to race rather than occupancy.

A study of negro tenancy in the South serves to illustrate quite well this racial factor. The picture is dark, but we should remember not only the great handicap under which the negro has labored, but also the fact that during the last ten years many negroes have been buying farms of their own. The system under which negro tenancy thrives and which we hope will not characterize the future is vividly described by Baker.[18] "Most of the tenants, especially the Negroes, are very poor, and wholly dependent upon the landlord. Many Negro families possess practically nothing of their own, save their ragged clothing, and a few dollars' worth of household furniture, cooking utensils, and a gun. The landlord must, therefore, supply them not only with enough to live on while they are

[16] Iowa State Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 217, p. 463.
[17] Bizzell, W. B., *Farm Tenancy in the United States.* Texas Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 278, p. 294.
[18] Baker, *Following the Color Line,* Chap. IV, pp. 74-75; or Bizzell, W. B., *op. cit.,* pp. 264-266.

making their crop, but with the entire farming outfit. Let us say that a Negro comes in November to rent a one-mule farm from the landlord for the coming year.

" 'What have you got?' asks the landlord.

" 'Nothin', boss,' he is quite likely to say.

"The 'boss' furnishes him with a cabin to live in—which goes with the land rented—a mule, a plough, possibly a one-horse wagon, and a few tools. He is often given a few dollars cash near Christmas time which (ordinarily) he immediately spends—wastes. He is then allowed to draw upon the plantation supply store for the regular amount of corn to feed his mule, and meat, bread, tobacco, and some clothing for his family. The cost of the entire outfit and supplies for the year is in the neighborhood of $300, upon which the tenant pays interest of from 10 to 30 percent, from the time of signing the contract in November, although most of the supplies are not taken out until the next summer. . . . The Negro is credited for the amount of cotton which he brings in and he is charged with the supplies he has had, and interest, together with the rent of his thirty acres of land. If the season has been good and he has been industrious, he will often have a nice profit in cash, but sometimes he not only does not come out even, but closes his year actually deeper in debt to the landlord." In the East South Central section, 81.9 percent of the negro and non-white farm operators are tenants, while but 17.8 percent of the foreign born white and 36.7 percent of the native born white are tenants. In Alabama 84.5 of all farms are operated by negroes while the white tenants operate 42 percent of all farms.

Religious life of the tenant. In the survey [19] of four counties of Northwestern Ohio, it was found that 13.4 percent of the tenants were on the church rolls while 86.6 percent of the owners had some affiliations. In Missouri [20] 29.6 percent of the tenants attended church as compared with 40.7 percent of the land owners, while 18.5 percent of the tenants attended Sunday School as compared with 30.5 percent of the owners. According to this survey the tenant contributed $4.47 to church per year on the average, while the landowner contributed $11.62. In Lone Tree Township, Iowa,[21] owner families made an average annual contribution of $48.64. while tenant families made an average contribution of $17.77. Approximately 80 percent of the owners' wives and 72 percent of the owners in this area belonged to church; 58 percent of the tenant women and 47

[19] Bizzell, W. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 298-299.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[21] Von Tungeln, G. H., *A Rural Social Survey of Lone Tree Township, Clay County, Iowa.* Iowa State College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 193, p. 239.

percent of the tenants belonged to church. Evidently church affiliations are more dependent upon length of residence than lodge connections or business relationships. From the standpoint of church membership and religious contributions, the tenant is only about one-half as efficient as the owner.

In the Western Iowa survey, the tenant received only about one quarter as many social contacts through the church as the land owner. Rankin, in his Nebraska survey [22] of tenancy, shows that 61 percent of the owners and 59.1 percent of the tenants attend church, that 32.8 percent of the owners' children attended Sunday School as compared with 34.3 percent of the tenants' children, and that 62 percent of the owners' wives attended church as compared with 71.7 percent of the tenants' wives.

On the whole, the Nebraska tenant makes a somewhat better showing than the owner. There can be little doubt that it is perilous to make broad generalizations upon the tenant and his religious relations, since there is more regional and local variation. It should be borne in mind that a larger percent of the younger population are church members than the older age groups, on account of the fact that church membership has increased faster than population since 1910. In general the tenant is at a disadvantage religiously.

The tenant and farm organizations. In the Nebraska survey of tenancy,[23] 44 percent of the owners were listed as members of a farmers' organization, as compared with 36.5 percent of the tenants. Also 5.2 percent of the owners' wives belong to farm organizations as compared with 6.3 percent of the tenants' wives.

The farmer in Monona County who owned his farm received eight social contacts annually through farm organizations, while the tenant received two. In Clay County [24] the average owner belonged to one and one-third farmers' organizations, while the average tenant belonged to one and one twenty-fifth farmers' organizations. The owners' wives belonged to one and one-ninth womens' organizations.

These organizations are rarely exclusive or snobbish, and, from that angle, make no discrimination against the tenants. On the other hand, many of them are co-operative organizations which are only practical for the permanent residents to join, since shares of stock cannot always be easily disposed of. The farm bureau has a social side, and for the most part seems to be patronized by tenants as well as land owners. The mem-

[22] Rankin, J. O., *Farm Tenancy in Nebraska.* Nebraska State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 196, pp. 26-28.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[24] Von Tungeln, G. H., *op. cit.*, p. 230.

bership of this organization is largely a county or state affair, and since the work is quite standardized, the tenant easily adjusts himself to the farm bureaus in other communities. The tenant is often a younger man, who has been educated to the need of farm organizations in a short course or in high school. He and his wife are at an age when they enjoy social evenings and farm programs. Again the local, selective conditions begetting the tenancy have an appreciable influence.

The tenant in his fraternal, and club relations. The newcomer in a rural community will naturally seek out some organization, which he feels sure, from its very constitution, will extend the right hand of fellowship, and which has a program or ritual with which he is familiar. The lodge seems peculiarly a tenant's institution because of its basis of fellowship and democracy. While the tenant in the Western [25] Iowa area received 16.9 annual social contacts through the lodge, the land owner received 7.7. In this area, the tenant was a good lodge man in the Modern Woodman, and Odd Fellows. In the Nebraska area,[26] 42.4 percent of the owners and 36 percent of the tenants belong to lodges. In the Texas survey [27] 8 percent of the owners and 36 percent of the white tenants were lodge members. While the owner can better afford the membership in lodges, he does not join to such an extent as the tenant. In the matter of attendance it is quite probable that the tenant, having less responsibilities with official work, will attend somewhat more regularly than the farmer who owns land.

The tenant as an officer in organizations. While 7 percent of the Nebraska farm owners [28] held offices in such organizations as the Farmers' Elevator, the Farmers' Union, the Farmers' Club, the Lodge, the Church, and the Farm Bureau, only 2.42 percent of the tenants held such offices. In the case of cash tenants, which generally have a long tenure, 3.84 percent held such offices. In this study the regional variation was considerable. In the western part of the state one farmer out of 35 holds office while in the eastern part of the state one out of 17 holds office. The land-owning farmer has advantage in the matter of organizational leadership and officialship.

[25] Hawthorn, H. B., *A Study of the Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities*, Chap. IX, p. 12. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

[26] *Nebraska Farm Tenancy*, p. 26. Nebraska State Agricultural College Bulletin No. 196.

[27] *A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County, Texas*, p. 61. Texas State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 65.

[28] *Nebraska Farm Tenancy*, p. 31. Nebraska State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 196.

1. He is in financial position to buy more shares in co-operative concerns.

2. He is older, and rural organizations, having reverence and confidence in age and prolonged residence, grade largely by seniority.

3. Men with property interests to conserve are generally thought more reliable and dependable than those without fixed property.

4. Men often tend to succeed themselves, and this puts the newcomer at a disadvantage.

The cultural activities of the tenant.

1. The tenant's reading, as compared with the land owner's, is given in several surveys.[29]

Apparently about the same proportion of each read books of a religious character with the weight in favor of the tenant. With the matter of science, classics, and poetry, the owner had the slight advantage. The owner not only reads more good novels but also more cheap novels than the tenant.

It is quite evident that the difference is slightly in favor of the land owner,[30] as is shown by the following diagram. But it should be remem-

[29] The Texas State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 65, *A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County, Texas,* p. 46, Table XXI and p. 47, Table XXII, gives the following data concerning the tenant's reading:

TABLE XXI
PAPERS AND MAGAZINES SUBSCRIBED FOR

	Austin Papers	Other Dailies	Women's Papers	Farm Papers	Religious	Good Magazines	Cheap Magazines	Standard Weeklies	Cheap Papers
White Owners	164	19	59	52	9	14	8	4	11
White Tenants	99	5	43	42	9	15	15	10	10

TABLE XXII
NUMBERS OF FARMERS READING VARIOUS TYPES OF BOOKS
(118 white owners and 89 white tenants)

Class of Books	White Owners	White Tenants
Bible	13	9
Religious	9	8
History, Science	5	3
Classics, Poetry	4	2
Better Novels	17	5
United States Government & Agricultural	2	0
Cheaper Novels	24	10*

* Plus 9 put down as novels or stories impossible to classify.

[30] Rankin, J. O., *Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes.* Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 180.

bered that the owner can afford more reading matter than the tenant, that he has more adult children, and that on the whole he has more leisure time. Again, we note that occupancy is a feeble sociological factor as compared with race or education.

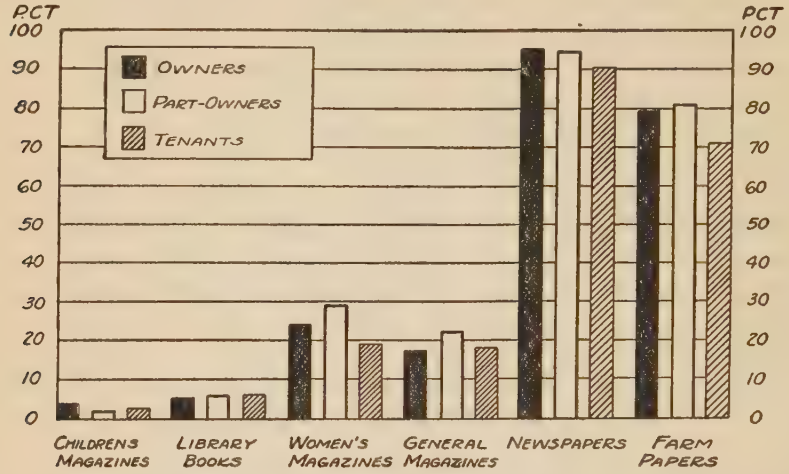


Figure 30

Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes

The other studies [31] show that the farm owners' homes average 82.2 volumes per home and the tenant homes 44.5 volumes per home.

In this case the tenant has an advantage with respect to farm papers as well as monthly papers and magazines.

The Social Contact Survey [32] of six Western Iowa counties shows that the farm owners had on the average 14 hours of mental exposures to good educational books as compared to the tenants' 10.3 hour exposures. The

[31] The Iowa State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 193, *A Rural Social Survey of Lone Tree Township, Clay County, Iowa*, pp. 234-235, also gives data concerning reading in tenant and owners' homes:

Papers and Magazines in Clay County Farm Homes.

Owners:

27 homes reported 48 daily papers.
28 homes reported 91 weekly papers and magazines.
22 homes reported 63 monthly papers and magazines.
26 homes reported 72 farm papers.

Tenants:

48 homes reported 54 daily papers.
46 homes reported 111 weekly papers and magazines.
34 homes reported 86 monthly papers and magazines.
37 homes reported 72 farm papers.

[32] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. IX, p. 12.

land owner had 249 annual hour-exposures to newspapers and magazines in a year as compared with the tenant's 215.9. It should be noted that the tenancy in this area is of the small cropper type, because of its rough topography.

2. Musical activities.

The Western Iowa Survey indicated that the land-owning farmer has 42 musical contacts a year as compared to the tenant's 31. This factor depends more upon tastes and family heredity than upon land occupancy. Because of his greater financial capacity, the land owner has a somewhat superior musical equipment in his home. Nebraska studies show [33] that 40.3 percent of the owners and 26.5 percent of the tenants have pianos, that 7.2 percent of the owners and 4.3 percent of the tenants have violins, that 19.2 percent of the owners and 13.6 percent of the tenants have phonographs, and that 20.4 percent of the owners' and 34.3 percent of the tenants' homes have no musical instruments and that 3.8 percent of the owners' and 2.8 percent of the tenants' homes have other musical instruments.

3. Attendance of the tenant at chautauquas and lyceums.

The chautauqua is a good test of the development of the love of educational lectures and intellectual feasts. In the Western Iowa Survey it was found that land-owning farmers received 2.5 annual social contacts through lyceums and chautauquas, and tenants, 1.6 social contacts. About 38 percent of the tenants and land owners attend lectures. It is quite evident that both land owner and tenant are not star patrons of lyceums and chautauquas.

The amusement and recreation of the tenant. The following tables prepared by Rankin [34] indicate the comparative activity of Nebraska tenants and land owners along the recreational line.

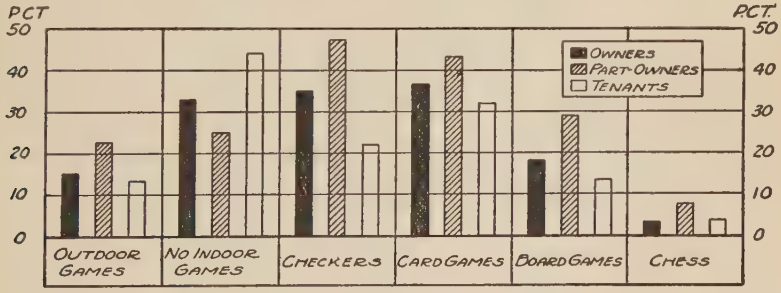


FIGURE 31
Amusements of Nebraska Farmers

[33] *Farm Tenancy in Nebraska.* Nebraska State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 196, p. 32.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-39. Graphs Reproduced.

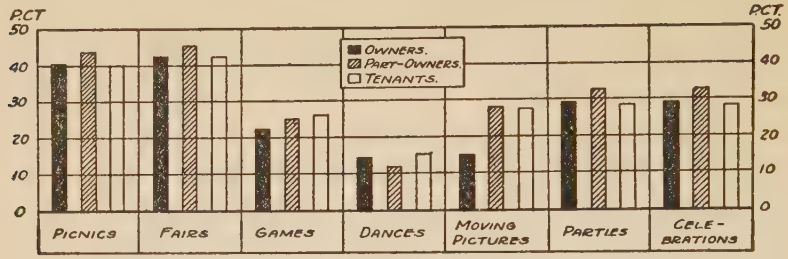


FIGURE 32
Recreational Activities of Nebraska Farmers

The accompanying table [35] reproduced from a Texas Survey shows typical forms of amusement indulged in by tenants and land owners.

The Western Iowa Survey [36] shows this comparison by social contacts.

It should be recognized in these comparisons that the tenant has a smaller amount of leisure time than the land owner, and also that he has younger children of the tender age that require more care and attention.

The types of amusement and recreation which the tenant seems to prefer are motion pictures, dancing, and certain indoor games. It is well known that the "movie" is a thrilling form of entertainment at a low cost. In the city it is well patronized by working people, who will almost spend their last dime for admission. The younger tenant families "catch" the

[35] The Texas State Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 65, *A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County, Texas,* p. 59 (Table XXX Reproduced), gives the comparative attendance at various forms of entertainment of land owners and tenants.

	Total	Motion Pictures	Circus	Fairs	Picnics	Barbecues	Holiday Celebrations	Community Gatherings	Dancing
White Owners	94	36%	42%	9%	59%	32%	20%	35%	10%
White Tenants	81	39	39	10	51	40	16	19	12
Negro Owners	19	0	42	0	36	21	36	31	5
Negro Tenants	66	12	48	9	62	38	62	25	12
Mexicans	26	11	23	0	11	3	11	3	15

[36] *The Study of the Social Efficiency and Rural Iowa Communities,* Chapter IX, p. 12, also indicates the recreational activities of tenants and land owners.

	Land Owning Farmers	Tenant Farmers
Games	7.3	5.1
Fishing and Hunting	2.3	14.0
Vacation and Pleasure Trips	17.0	5.5
Movies	2.7	3.0
Shows	6.5	1.0
Socials and Picnics	0.7	0.6
Festivals	12.0	7.2

"movie" habit much easier than the older farm-owning family, who have more memberships and responsibilities in the permanent organizations of the community. Fishing and hunting are also more typical pastimes for tenants.

In the matter of fairs, social picnics, parties and celebrations, the surveys in Texas, Nebraska, and Iowa show very little difference between land owner and tenant.

The standard of life of the tenant—cost of living compared. Surveys,[37] carried on by various State Colleges in co-operation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, show that the tenant's living costs are less than those of the land owner. The statistical information taken from the New York, Texas, Tennessee, Iowa, and Kentucky areas indicates the relation between land owner and tenant in the cost of living.

In only a few areas does the tenant approach the landlord in the cost of living, and in only one area does he exceed him. The tenant either is a younger man struggling to save and accumulate a fund for purchasing land or else is an older man who, from inefficiency, has been unable to pay for land. The land owners also derive, as has been noted in a previous chapter, a considerable sum as rent in addition to their labor and managerial return.

The regional variations in tenancy are quite evident. In some areas such as Tennessee, tenancy takes on certain racial and selective aspects that are not found elsewhere. There can be little doubt that certain regions such as New York and Iowa produce a much higher type of tenancy.

Another phase of the living standard of tenant and land owner is found in the more rapid introduction of home conveniences in the land owner's home as compared to the tenant's home. For the most part tenants' homes are not nearly as well equipped or maintained as the homes of farm owners. Several surveys [38] tend to bring out this fact.

The survey in Blackhawk County, Iowa, indicates that owners have

[37] *Cost of Living in Farm Homes in the United States,* Preliminary Report, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agriculture Economics, Rural Life Section.

Areas	Costs	
	Owner	Tenant
Iowa (1923)	$1876	$1506
New York (1921)	1983	2098
Kentucky (1919)	1803	1283
Texas (1919)	1809	1332
Tennessee (1920)	1325	899

[38] See table, comparing standard of life of landowners and tenants, listed in Chap. V. This presents a more detailed analysis of this subject.

about double the number of conveniences in the home as tenants. The Nebraska survey also shows that owners have many more conveniences. It is quite evident that such should be the case, since the tenant is a younger man struggling towards farm ownership. Absentee landlords often follow the policy of making the minimum amount of improvements around the house, and the tenant cannot afford to install conveniences in a home which may soon be inhabited by somebody else.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Show how a heavy proportion of "one-year" tenants affects the political, church, school, and social life of a community. Can citizenship rest upon an unstable population?
2. What parts of the United States have shown the greatest increase in tenancy during the last decade? Why? Account for the tenancy rates in Japan, England, and Germany.
3. From the standpoint of "moving around" is our farmer the worst offender? Is tenancy an unmitigated evil? Relate tenancy to the effort to avoid financial losses in uncertain times. Relate tenancy to the effort to secure an economic sized farm and a fair labor income. Can tenancy be considered as a sort of apprenticeship for the prospective land owner? How long does it take to climb the agricultural ladder in America? Why is this time of ascent increasing?
4. Why is the classification of tenants into related and unrelated, economically and socially significant? What proportion of our tenants are related to the landlord? It is often said that the land owner has more children in high school than the tenant. Is this a fair comparison?
5. Do tenants marry earlier than land owners? Why?
6. Compare the tenant with the land owner from the standpoint of agricultural efficiency, education, social contacts, participation in community activities, conveniences in the home, standard of life, etc. Explain these differences.
7. Is there a racial aspect to tenancy? Why? Show how this racial aspect obscures much of the comparison between the land owner and tenant.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR IN SOCIALIZATION

RURAL PSYCHOLOGY MAKES VITAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Rural society, like any other society, is composed of human beings actuated by instincts, emotions, and desires. As yet the community has not reached the stage where rational choice plays a dominant part in determining programs and policies. Hundreds of communities are still bound by prejudice, convention, custom, and tradition. Perhaps this is not as it should be; yet, these original forces must be reckoned with by anyone who deals with the rural mind. The mind of primitive man, with its passions, cravings, and urges, still moves our modern man, urban and rural. The organizer, however faultless may be his scheme of community development, encounters a personal reaction, and, unless he understands farmer psychology well enough to "sell" his scheme, his leadership will fail.

Many students of rural life find a rich field of investigation in rural attitudes, although these have lost much of their unique and indigenous character. And such students discover that to appreciate much of the home life, the church life, and the social life of rural people, a deep understanding of these attitudes engendered by country environment and farm industry is indispensable. There is an attitude towards strangers, towards the new, towards education, towards government, towards success, towards life itself, which every minister, school superintendent, and rural leader should sympathetically sense.

In the next place, rural psychology gives us an analysis of the stimuli and "inner urges" which arouse country communities to action, whether constructive or destructive. What are the innate cravings on the farm which, going unsatisfied, engender discontent? Where must one look for the hidden springs of motivation in country life? What shall we use on the "dead community" to start the social process—community singing, pageantry, rabbit hunts, debates, or football? Shall our publicity come through the Press, the School, the Church, or the Farm Bureau? What type of project shall we choose to open our campaign of community development? To know something of the repressed desires of the com-

munity is to know the dynamic forces which will set it into motion. What motives are back of the urban-ward migration of country people? An analysis of the rural mind reveals certain balked desires, gregariousness, self-assertion, and play, as well as evaluations of life which never originated on the farm, but which actuate population shifts.

Again, the automobile, radio, and telephone have so overcome isolation that crowd and mob psychology is beginning to make itself felt in country life. The modern leader now has not only larger groups but more complex groups to work with, and hence must cope with various psychic planes and currents within the community mind. The simple pioneer mind of the open country neighborhod is vanishing; the more devious, socialized mind of the town-community is emerging.

No theory of organizational life or social solidarity is complete without a psychology of membership. Why do people join an organization? What holds each particular member to it? Certainly not always the purposes which the idealist has written into the constitution. The canny, money-minded merchant may join the church to widen his business connections. Coveting prominence, he occupies a front pew and makes handsome donations to the building fund. A lady joins because she loves the liturgy and the chanting of a vested choir; another man joins because he likes the intellectual stimulus of the scholarly sermons. A woman joins because of the emotional exaltation of prayer and the promise of salvation for penitent sinners; still another man joins for the sake of being social with his neighbors and maintaining respectability.

The psychology of the rural people will give us a key to "joining" motives, as well as to solidarity forces. In what does the strength of the organization consist in so far as its most important constituency is concerned? What type of program must be planned to enlist the largest number of members?

Organizations may form themselves upon a broad or a narrow motivation plan. Their memberships may thus become ascetic, narrow, liberal, provincial, or cosmopolitan in proportion as they feature certain types of attraction. A more thorough scrutiny of the motivation of organization joiners will serve as a basis for many institutional adjustments. The diagram (page 252) illustrates the psychological approach to the institutionalization of individuals, interests, and motives.

Organizations are colored by the psychology of their individuals. The Methodist Church has a definite constitution and ritual for procedure; yet a Negro Methodist-Episcopal Church will differ quite radically from an English Church of the same denomination. The organizational ritual

merely supplies a pattern, which is more or less transformed by the psychological nature of the membership. In the same way organizations of urban pattern are remodeled in country society.

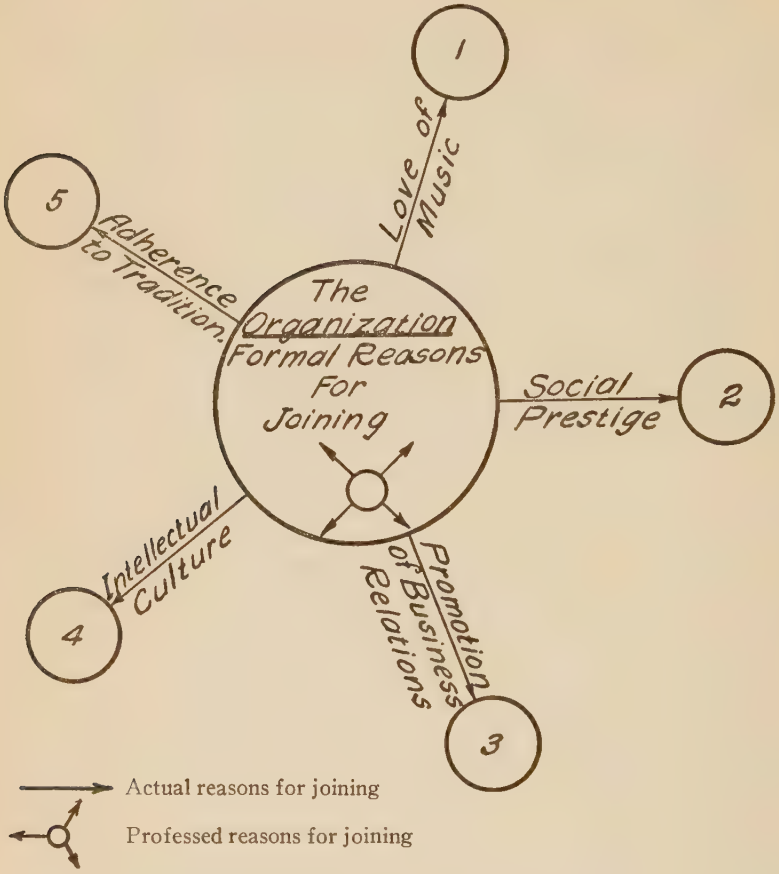

FIGURE 33
Social Motives and Group Formation

What parts of the constitution or ritual will be frequently stressed? How will the rules be interpreted? The man who goes to the Bible with a strong anti-prohibition complex will naturally find much there to justify an epicurean life. If the organization are introduced suddenly a hundred human complexes, each of which will interpret the constitution in its own way.

With the simple folk there is simplicity in the organization structure and program. With the epicurean type group activities take on a decidedly sportive and sensuous character. With the austere they become rather serious and formal. In every program the dominant instincts will find their expression. In Swedish communities, the traditional, communal meal shows up as the "after program" supper.

IS RURAL PSYCHOLOGY A MATTER OF POPULATION TYPE OR VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT?

The notion of a *species ruralis* with a set of mental oddities, abnormalities, and eccentricities is a myth. Our right to interpret the rural mind upon the basis of isolation, with such attendant psychoses as appear in the hermit, the "only child," and the solitaire is questionable, at least in our corn belt. What is so often mistaken for a rural psychology often, upon closer inspection, turns out to be the psychology of a segregated race.

For migration, especially during our periods of rural settlement from Europe, has powerfully operated to segregate racial traits in country districts. Thus the settlement of Wisconsin and Iowa coincided with the exodus of the Germans in the "seventies" and "eighties," giving rural Iowa and rural Wisconsin a strong flavor of German temperament and organization. In like manner the opening to settlement of Minnesota and North Dakota coincided with the exodus of the Scandinavians, so that rural Minnesota and North Dakota are tinctured with Norse psychology. In the South the liberated slaves who became farmers gave many Southern rural districts a strong impress of negro institutionalism, while the hills and mountains of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Illinois, not only entrapped parts of these older streams of migration from New England and Virginia, but gave them fastnesses in which to hide away and develop the psychology of the mountain white. In each of these cases the cities and towns were the congregating points of many types, and hence tended to produce a dynamic, shifting, and commingling people whose racial eccentricties were worked off by "elbow-to-elbow" contact.

To secure pure types, a population must be insulated against rapid migrations and exogamous marriages. The town and small city did not meet these conditions as well as the country districts. We are, of course, in places, undergoing a secondary phase in which the intelligent part of our superior rural stock is migrating to urban zones and leaving behind a peasantry.

According to Galpin [1] these latter processes of selective migration and fixation of traits through heredity are in many places registering their effect upon rural mind. "We shall do no violence to the facts of the case if we call this heightened instinct of the farmer *landmindedness,* and think of the land-working class on the whole as the *landminded* part of our population. . . . Those children who inherit the instinct in its elemental vigor are true to type, and for centuries have comprised the peasant farmer class. The variants from the landminded type, the restless, high-strung, curious, adventuresome, the cerebral rather than the muscular have constituted hitherto the steady stream of migrants from the country to the city."

However, within a dynamic population where communication and education stimulate a constant migration of individuals from place to place and occupation to occupation, psychology will tend to become a vocational adjustment. Butterfield [2] in his foreword to *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare* by Groves presents this viewpoint: "For the fact is that farmers are different. They are not peculiar, not unique, nor inferior. They are just different. They live under different conditions from city people; they think in different terms; they breathe a different atmosphere; they handle their affairs differently—perhaps because they have different affairs to handle. This difference is not a difference in essential human qualities, but merely the effect of environment upon the inherent traits. Farmers are quite like other people in their fundamental instincts; but these instincts discharge through different channels from those that exist in the crowded city, and hence bring different results, so different as to produce the 'rural mind.'"

This last type of rural-urban migration coincides with that noted some decades ago in Europe by Ammon, Galton, and others. In the first case, immigration to the United States meant the replenishment of our rural stock with people of initiative and vitality. Parts of Iowa and Wisconsin which escaped this fertilizing stream are comparatively lethargic and backward in the development of social institutions. However, the second type means, in many cases, folk depletion.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO RURAL PSYCHOLOGY

The factors which determine rural psychology and influence the farmers' mental response may be classified into several groups.

[1] Galpin, C. J., *Rural Life,* p. 37. The Century Co., 1918.
[2] Groves, E. R., *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare,* p. xiii. University of Chicago Press, 1922.

Environmental factors.

1. Isolation.

The first thing that strikes us in going from city to country is the extensiveness of area and the overpowering impress of distance. On every hand we are retarded and resisted by distance. In bold contrast to the huddled, cooped-up character of the city home, the farmer's home is secluded from others. With the coming of rain the dirt roads present an almost insuperable barrier against motion. The descent of wintry blasts maroons the farm family in the quiet of their winter cloister. At these times there is a growth toward the psychology of the hermit, the anchorite. Isolation tends to narrowness, self-centering individualism, familism, provincialism, and extreme suspiciousness. It often requires the warm weeks of spring to thaw out the "ice-cold" developed in the hibernation of winter.

2. Personalism.

Every task meets the farmer's individuality and personality. Every post, shock of hay, or "critter" reflects his personal touch. All depends on himself; there is no extra shift. No one sets a pace, a standard for his day's work, or issues orders. The farmer is his own boss, capitalist, pace-setter, and business manager. He is the worker who toils to execute plans. The farm seems aloof from the economic tentacles of an outside world of markets, prices, demands, and supplies, and so his salvation seems to lie inside his fence lines; he has no business outside of it; nobody else has any business inside of it. He and his family seem to be a self-sufficing unit, that, like a cell, can be isolated without the stoppage of its vitality and life. The entire industrial and financial machinery of the outside world could stop, but still he could go on, for he has the basic needs of existence. The farmer works and thinks alone without the mental stimulus or interference of others. A set of factors of this character will tend to develop the latent ego of the most dependent individuals. The farmer, not excepting the renter, is an undertaker of ventures and an entrepreneur, who must, not only shoulder the responsibility of his own decisions, but must abide by the vagaries of weather and markets. To endure the strain of such anxieties, he must develop an almost blind confidence in himself and his luck. The city man trusts to the business management and the efforts of his co-workers to bring success to his organization and insure his reward. The farmer can look to no one but himself. Individualism and isolation are two basic forces in developing a rural psychology.

3. Proximity to the elemental.

The farmer contacts with the elemental, and such associations give him some traits typical of primitive peoples. For countless epochs the human race was agricultural and elemental as far as its methods of obtaining a living were concerned. In many countries modern factories and primitive agriculture with its oxen, reaping hooks, wooden plows, and flails dwell in close proximity to each other. Agriculture seems to be the last industry to evolve out of the primitive stage into the stage of machine production and business methods.

The early man was an adept at handling levers, inclined planes, and cord; he could tie knots of many varieties and make many interesting tools and appliances with his hands. Handicraft, manifold rôles, and dexterity were factors in his industry. In rural technique we see the outcropping of the primitive in the form of skill in the use of rough appliances such as levers, skids, hammers, saws, axes, and ropes, and in the tendency to believe in and cling to "strong-arm" methods of doing work in field and kitchen. In sharp contrast to the city boy, the farm boy receives, in early life, a training in handicraft that gives him an ability in such "handy Andy" tasks as making temporary repairs with wire and cord, "patching up" things, and a resourcefulness in adapting simple things to a wide range of purposes. The American Indians had a strong influence on American agriculture. The methods of curing, preserving, tanning, and tilling were taken over in many cases from the primitive agriculture of the Indian.

Primitive problems, primitive systems of making a living, and the exercise of primal nerve centers tend toward a primitive type of thought. The primitive man was kith and kin with nature. In his animism he peopled his universe of things with souls and selves. Naturally, then, rural religion is colored with the mystic, supernatural, and personal. The power of God was connected with the drought, the flood, and the hail storm, which tended to make the farmer's religion one of supplicatory prayer, awesome fear, and fatalism. Animal worship, plant worship, and nature worship lurk in the sub-conscious levels of the rural mind in the form of a sort of personal attachment to animals and plants. Ancestral reverence and the worship of sacred spots may be reflected in the tendency of the farmer to cling to land, and in the pleasure of the farm wife in preserving heirlooms and keepsakes in the rural home. The worship of the "old and traditional" and the suspicion of the "new" is manifest in the more backward communities. Within the rural districts the family reunion under the paternal roof, the attachment to the ancestral estate, and

the strong sense of "old historical spots" are phenomena quite unnatural to the mobile city dweller.

Depending on brute force to gain his ends, the primitive man was forceful and physical in his approach. The farmer's tendency towards the development of the big muscles and the less co-ordinated movements, the utilization of physical might to secure success, and the adoption of the clumsier, rougher type of clothing are seen by many as the few remaining tokens of primitive existence.

Primitive man and more backward types of farmers compare in their sensitiveness and deep-seated, silent emotionalism. Sense of wrongs brooded over, grudges, concealed envies, and pent-up passions smoulder in the rural mind for long periods and yield little to the lapse of time. Primitive mind and rural mind alike exhibit the one-focus mentality, which continues to brood and ruminate on one line of facts and ideas until they take on a greatly distorted form.

No true evaluation of primitive life would be complete without the consideration of magic, sorcery, soothsaying, and prophecy. Magic was to the savage what science is to the modern man; it was his method of controlling disease, plant growth, weather, and prosperity. A compilation of one thousand Kentucky [3] superstitions plainly indicates that the rural mind in the retarded sections has outcroppings of primitive magic. It is not an unusual sight in rural districts to see such primitive devices as water witches, rabbits' feet, and good-luck horseshoes. Almanacs and zodiacs guide the planting of potatoes and the cutting of fence posts; moon observations guide other operations; the behavior of animals foretells the weather. The farmer is fond of signs and prophecy, not only in the realm of meteorology, but also in the realms of government and religion.

Therefore, no interpretation of rural mind is complete without a recognition of the primitive sociology that lurks in the sub-conscious brain of a primeval people who live close to nature, who associate with natural and physical processes, who fraternize with animals and plants, who carry on their industry in an unspecialized, self-sufficing fashion, who are isolated from any modernism, and who are strongly imbued with the ancestral and traditional.

4. Silence.

Another environmental factor is that of silence. The farmers' nervous organism is not bombarded by the whirr of lathes, the clatter of traffic,

[3] Thomas, D. L., *Kentucky Superstitions.* Princeton University Press, 1920.

and the shriek of sirens. The city dweller's nervous system, keyed to a higher pitch through this continual tension on the sensory apparatus, tends to respond with less inhibition. Nervous phenomena such as suicide, hysteria, enthusiasm, depressive melancholia, mob hypnosis, and faddism tend to find better soil in the city organism which is worn raw by continual irritation. In the countryside, however, absence of distracting noises tends to brooding and meditation. It allows the single-track type of thinking that may lead to somewhat distorted perspective. It tends to slow down the reaction machinery and produce more deliberate movements.

Occupational factors.

1. Multiplicity of tasks on the farm.

Agriculture has been the last industry to adopt specialized and professional methods. Factory industry has been mechanized until men have become cogs in a great machine. Professions are highly specialized. Few plumbers do much outside of plumbing, since their time earns the most money at this type of work. On the part of the farmer, we see a plurality of activities that calls for a large number of "skills." Let us list a few of them that are still prevalent on the farm:

Butchering	Fencing	Treatment of plant diseases
	Corn husking	
Grading	Stock feeding	Buying and selling
Ditching	Plowing	Rough plumbing
Stacking	Mechanical and tinker work with machinery	Cement work
		Wood chopping
Teaming	Stock doctoring	Bookkeeping
Shocking	Rough carpentering	Painting

A larger number might be named, and, at the same time, many of these abilities divided into a number of special "sub-skills." Thus, wood harvesting involves skill in sawing, chopping, piling, and hauling. Contrast these manifold rôles with the specialized tasks of the factory worker who does nothing but tack on box covers, or push soles into a sewing machine. The farmer develops these multiple rôles for several reasons. First of all, he has much time outside of his regular farm operations. In the winter he chops wood and repairs machinery to save a fuel bill and a mechanic's charges. His work is less efficient and does not earn as much per hour as his field work, but unless he is close to factories or mining camps, it could not be utilized otherwise. In the second place, the farmer is not in touch with specialists in these various lines, and has not sufficient work to pay one to come out to his farm. In the third place, he has never specialized in any one line, since, where the capital is

limited, specialized farming is more risky than generalized agriculture. In the fourth place, he has been slow to recognize specialized skill, and his standards of expert work are in many ways primitive. He has not habituated himself to monotony and so tends to welcome a change of work. The farmer has not accurately measured his labor return at different forms of work, and so tends to maintain a generalized ability.

Generalized ability and manifold adaptations do not wear deep channels in the nervous system, but leave the organism plastic. The power of the rural boy to adapt himself readily to new conditions is notable, for his broad, generalized ability tends toward thinking in broad and general terms, rather than in special, professional terms. Diversification and mobility of attention result in a wide diversification of interest and a dispersion of emotions. The farmer generalizes his topics of reading and the range of subjects as compared with the professional and working man. The lack of fixed attitudes and the prevalence of generalized concepts inhibit the growth of class consciousness. We noticed how isolation was congenial to one-line thinking as far as a series of thought processes were concerned. We should note that the concepts by which these long-continued thought trains are carried out may be general. The fact that the farmer is capitalist, landlord, and laborer has been previously considered as preventing the rise of a capitalistic or worker-class consciousness and favoring political stability. It is quite conceivable that an occupation requiring numerous rôles will tend to attract the type of person who desires generalized and rapidly changing work, while the professional type of mind that hungers for accuracy, precision, mastery, and specialization will seek out a work where its whole time and energy can be directed on a limited set of activities. However, from the standpoint of national strength and mobility of labor, it is desirable to have a large class of unspecialized mentality, which still has primitive and original powers of making adjustments to new tasks. Resourcefulness, ingenuity, inventiveness, and originality are kept alive in the less technical and mechanized industries.

2. Seasonal and irregular character of farming.

Weather continually upsets the farmer's schedules. Now it forces him to remain cooped up in shop or home; now it compels him to work overtime. In his effort to finish his tasks while the sun shines, he often forgets time. Planting, harvesting, and haying are never done at the same time in any two consecutive years. Livestock breaking away or becoming ill, force the farmer to break his hours of rest. Marketing, threshing, silo filling, and team work often changes his regular schedule

of hours. Not only does the farmer's society bear the stamp of the irregular and unplanned, but many rural programs are planned in a very uncertain fashion, and, because of unlooked for events or weather, are often largely improvised on the spot. Attendance at rural festivals is irregular and seasonal. Like the vegetation, rural institutions die down in the autumn and winter and revive in the spring; rural audiences are rarely punctual at their entertainments. The religious revival, so characistic of rural religious life, typifies the warming of the soil, chilled by the inactivity of winter. The weather-response of agriculture gives seasonal character to rural social activities; in sharp contrast, city societies, running like clockwork, start and stop with the hands of the time-piece, irrespective of weather. Thus rural social life, unlike the urban, cannot be planned with absolute accuracy and exactitude.

3. The standardization factor.

Few things connected with agriculture are standardized. The work day, the type of piece work, the mechanisms used, vary considerably between farms. To a large extent each farmer works out his own methods and standards. Scientific management experts have extended the principle of uniformity to many large-scale industrial processes. But the farmer takes to standardized things rather slowly, and so proceeds with his activities in an informal way. Standardized programs, standardized institutions, and standardized methods do not appeal to rural people, since they are not used to having everything cut out for them in a hard and fast way. Agriculture is undergoing quite rapidly a process of standardization in such directions as size of farms, tenant contracts, rotations, accounting, rate of pay for different jobs, and so on. Yet, it still has a large number of unstandardized areas.

Social factors.

1. Familism. Hospitality. Communism.

The family is the unit of agriculture as the single laborer or the gang is the unit of factory industry. The family co-operates in working the farm, in doing chores, husking corn, and in threshing. Since the farm home is comparatively insulated against the distractions of outside social groups, the farmer's human contacts are, to a large extent, within the family circle. A strong sense of family honor and pride is carried into every organization, which makes it desirable that means be found to give it expression. While property is held under the system of private ownership, there is much communism in rural life, as is excellently illustrated by mutual aid in nursing, sharing trouble, and helping disabled neighbors.

The hospitality towards neighbor and stranger evolves out of country

lonesomeness. In the city neighbors are too often strangers to develop much mutual aid and hospitality. Not only does the city person see too many people to place a high value on the stranger at the gate; but the denizen of the metropolis meets too many people of an entirely different social stratum to risk a snub on too forward a hospitality.

2. Uniform and homogeneous character of rural social stimulus.

Rural society is composed of a few basic races and a middle class in the ownership of wealth; it is a society of means rather than extremes; there is not a large assortment of human-nature types as in the polyglot city. Thus, in this respect, there is a tendency towards a one-line stimulus, socially.

3. Consanguineal character of rural society.

The old agricultural village was generally composed of a clan, or parts of clans, tracing back to a common ancestral stem. The tendency of families to pass down farms and to cling to one locality, coupled with the tendency to intermarry, gives the rural folk the strong consanguineal ties which result in feuds, factionism, and smouldering family rivalries. These often foil efforts to secure community harmony.

4. The local and neighborhood character of rural society.

Even in modern country-sides which have fairly well developed community institutions, there is a strong, lingering sense of neighborhood ties. Visiting is still a custom. There has rarely been success in developing the neighborhood consciousness in the city except in places where common interest in a factory or a racial settlement has given a clique basis to "consciousness of kind."

6. Comparative absence of crowds, mobs, and adventitious social aggregations of a highly emotional character.

In times of crisis crowds are the common thing in the city. An auto accident at a street intersection, by attracting the people within seeing and hearing distance, forms a crowd. Thus crowd psychology may make its appearance, so that the individual is gradually drawn into the vortex of mob hypnosis. A sensational spectacle on Saturday afternoon in a rural town might secure a crowd of 100, but this is infrequent. However, under the impassive and indifferent exterior, lurks much pent-up emotionalism, which quickly crops out under certain conditions. In the records of the Kentucky revival of 1800, we have an intense manifestation of all the psychoses of crowds, such as hysteria, illusion, trance, catalepsy, and volubility. Ordinarily, in the country, such an influence would have to extend over 40 or 50 square miles to secure a crowd. Gillette points out that the lack of stratification in rural society makes imitation easier,

and facilitates the spread of crowd suggestion. This may account for the high emotional pitch of the rural crowd, if by chance it happens to form. With the advent of the auto and the telephone, crowds will appear more frequently in rural districts.

7. Qualitative rather than quantitative association.

Association of this character, where persons rather than crowds are met and where activities promote more face-to-face contacts, tends to stimulate rather than repress individuality. The rural person meets fewer people, but tends to meet them in organized groups where more intimate and personal ideas can be exchanged. Thus, where there is more history and personalism back of the contact, the emotional background of the socialization process is more intense and dynamic.

8. Tendency to extremes in ages.

The rapidly-growing city has 25 percent more than its share of ages in the later "teens" and twenties, while the country has more than its share of children and elderly people. The ascendency of the "older people" is quite noteworthy in the membership of such rural societies as churches, farm bureaus, and commercial clubs. The power of the elder and parent is always in evidence. To this extent we have a tendency to conservatism, social ossification, and tardiness of adaptation. While on one hand we have the austerity and dogmatic inflexibility of mature age, on the other side we have the "heady" enthusiasm of early youth, linked with the fun and simplicity of childhood. Therefore, rural meetings must have a wider program appeal to instincts of all ages, while city groups may tend to select narrower age ranges.

9. In the country, people are grouped into appreciation and interest types rather than into cliques or castes.

The rural church does not represent either wealth or poverty; it unites people who appreciate religious experience and are characterized by serious conviction rather than sensuous conviviality. The rural clubs draw out neither rich nor poor, but people who are interested in music, corn, hogs, or sewing. The tendency to caste grouping exists only where certain European races have recently migrated into certain sections of a neighborhood, and have not had time to become assimilated into the life of the community.

10. The prevalence of custom and tradition.

Rural activities, programs, and types of organization must always pay deference to custom and tradition. We noted before that custom and tradition influence rural minds on account of their close contact with primitism and familism.

The farmer's business is localized, and, except in the case of livestock shipping, rarely takes him beyond the local markets. Few travelers bring in new ideas save the occasional agent. Only recently has the "travel" habit infected the rural population. A provincial people tend to develop dialects. Thus, in many rural districts, certain words are given an "er" ending which is typical of the particular neighborhood. Provincial people tend to be "set" in their ideas, strongly opinionated, and suspicious of things which come from the outside world.

THE RURAL MIND BECOMES COSMOPOLITAN

We have been weighing and enumerating the things, influences, and factors which gave the farmer a characteristic and distinct psychology. This would, however, leave a wrong impression of modern agricultural life in advanced regions, where scientific machines and business methods have been introduced, and where few traces of the primitive remain. The fact is, too many rural psychologies belittle the farmer in order to exalt the city mind. Many of the peculiarities of rural mind, already noted, redound to the credit rather than the discredit of the farmer. They are assets rather than liabilities, so any universal painting of the modern American farmer as a peasant, intellectually numbed and spiritually inert, is a caricature. Let us consider, then, the factors which tend to modernize the *psyche* of the farmer:

1. The increasing specialization of agriculture.

During the last two decades agriculture has undergone a wonderful transformation in many sections of America. *The Farmer and the New Day,* as Butterfield [4] very aptly entitles his new book, sums up the many modern influences that open up a new vision of a scientific agriculture, which is rapidly evolving out of the self-sufficing, primitive, and isolated state, and into a state where the farmer specializes on a certain type of product which he sells on a special market for cash. With this cash he buys in a world market specialized products, such as phonographs, magazines, radios, and tailor-made clothes. And certainly the farm, today, is not contributing much over one-third of the farmer's living, and this contribution is likely to diminish as the farmer finds sufficient work in his specialized fields to occupy his time. The number of farmers who specialize in fruit, dairying, pure-bred cattle, hogs, or poultry is continually on the increase as the competition of the less-intelligent depresses general

[4] See Butterfield, K. L., *The Farmer and the New Day,* pp. 1-30. The Macmillan Co., 1919.

Elements must be controlled list

farming. The intelligent farmer, however, through the use of machinery, can enlarge his acreage, and so expand his income over that of the peasant farmer. However, high taxes and high capitalization, in the more advanced districts, tend to penalize the extensive farmer with rapidly rising costs. For interest and taxes are fixed costs and do not decline, as do production power costs, when we pass from the smaller 80-acre farm to the 240-acre farm. Hence, the intelligent farmer can make his best showing against the peasant farmer in the field of specialized agriculture. He may carry on general farming, but greatly add to his income by those specialized lines whose products he can sell in a narrower, less competitive market. In any case he is investing skill to convert raw produce into refined products for a fancy trade. In this way a peasantry has been prevented from displacing the farmer with higher living standards. Let us remember that such a plan offers a means of survival for the intelligent American farmer, who faces the problem of maintaining higher standards of life against peasant competition. This transformation of agriculture has several effects and results.

a. Specialized products have forced the farmer to study special techniques of markets and prices. It has brought him into contact with distant localities, with strangers, with business mechanisms, and with city life. In this way his mind is urbanized and professionalized. His traditional isolation and independence disappear in the mind of trade and business. Bargaining for price develops the business man, working with human nature rather than physical nature. The breeder of thoroughbred cattle must depend on human whims more than on the ability of his farm to raise rough products.

Specialization of product and market has introduced the farmer to the problem of human as well as of physical nature, for with the development of the auto truck and gravel roads, many farmers who hitherto marketed their produce at the smaller places, now journey to the city with their potatoes, chickens, and hogs.

b. Specialized agriculture has tended to reduce the feeling of independence and individualism. The interrelationship between agriculture and the world of economic forces is emphasized.

c. Specialized agriculture forces business methods on the farmer, obliging him to compete in a sphere where business competition is keen. Farmers are calculating their comparative labor return in the different lines of work and specialties.

2. Limitation of immigration and the assimilation of the foreign born.

A large part of rural mind generates from racial psychology. The second generation of the races which comprise city and country drops a large part of the European customs, traditions, and habits. It develops an attitude toward life and occupation which is more typically American. With new generations, free public schools, and free libraries, racial differences disappear as far as specific reactions and habits are concerned. Little Italies, German neighborhoods, and Irish churches dissolve when their children imbibe a common language, history, and tradition. As America becomes cosmopolitan rather than sectional, and as urban and rural strains mingle by inter-migration, rural and urban mind will blend into an American mind. The streams of foreign immigration that flowed into city and country to create distinct mental differences have dwindled from a million to a few hundred thousand per year, and these are preponderately from Northern Europe. Race will diminish as a factor in giving city and country a distinct psychology.

3. Machine agriculture.

The man with the power binder and tractor is not the man with the scythe. Hay loaders, manure spreaders, tractor plows, binders, riding cultivators, planters, corn pickets and elevators, power saws, and pressure tanks have removed much of the laborious work from farming and made it much less a matter of brute force pitted against gravity and distance. The smaller, instead of the larger, muscles are used. Finer, more skillful adjustments are made by the rural nervous system. Machinery requires a steady, careful hand and brain to adjust it, repair it, and operate it successfully. The psychology of power-control reforms the psychology of the primitive man, grappling bare-handed with the forces of nature.

Evidence which we have discussed before indicates that, in many cases, modern farming is a sedentary occupation of seats and levers. A few peasant methods linger in the form of hand tools, such as the axe, spade, hammer, crow-bar, and pitch-fork. These are, however, limited to operations that consume the slack seasons of the year. Many of the old hand methods of bundle-tying and woodcraft are becoming almost lost arts. It is likely that within a few years agriculture, like manufacturing, will become completely mechanized.

4. Reduction of the element of uncertainty.

Hitherto, agriculture has been largely a matter of weather, insects, and growing conditions, and to this extent has engendered a fatalistic attitude toward the universe. "Luck was against me," was often heard as

an explanation for reverses on corn-belt farms. "Trust to Providence," was the slogan of the pioneer farmer. However, many factors have combined to reduce this element of fate and uncertainty.

a. Scientific methods of controlling insect pests by crop rotations, chemicals, and proper tillage; scientific methods of controlling animal diseases by vaccination and sanitation; dry-farming methods to overcome moisture deficiency; credit and co-operative marketing associations to stabilize prices and to prevent gluts and ruinous prices; drainage engineering to combat conditions of excess moisture; all these reduce uncertainty.

b. Insurance at nominal rates against hail, fire, and other misfortunes. With the reduction of the element of chance, much of the fatalism and pessimism in the farmer's psychology will disappear. Farming will be put on a regular business basis with the nature factor in the background and the human efficiency factor in the foreground.

5. Improved transportation and communication.

The marvelous broadening of the farmer's social and intellectual life by such things as the radio, newspaper, automobile and motion pictures, has been set forth in a previous chapter.

6. The decay of the mutual aid system.

While city dwellers depended upon hiring professional nurses, doctors, butchers, and plumbers, the farmer proceeded upon the mutual aid system. However, with the improvement of transportation and contact with city life, many rural people are hiring professional services rather than depending upon volunteer services and uncertain neighbor-aid. Rural people are invading the city hospitals and sanitariums in large numbers. They are hiring professional veterinarians to doctor their stock, mechanicians to repair their machines, and carpenters to do their construction work. Gradually they are making the discovery that their time is worth more in their field work than in some specialty where their lack of skill lowers their output per hour. With the existence of a hundred or more types of expert service in the city, the pay system has almost entirely supplanted the system of mutual aid. The auto and telephone have brought the expert and specialist within the range of the farmer, thus supplanting much of the old neighbor-service. This shift can scarcely do other than reduce the strong sense of localism, and transform clan spirit into community spirit. Many organizers would try to preserve the beautiful spirit of mutual aid by organizing husking bees, barn raisings, and such activities, since they regard this spirit as a strong element in rural socialization.

7. Commingling of urban and rural people.

The immigration from Europe was localizing and provincializing in that it segregated different races into diverse sections. A secondary migration has, however, appeared during the last twenty years which has tended to equalize these differences and to bring about a cross-fertilization of cultures. Rural psychology has often been the result of racial clots within the social body, where the assimilation process has been retarded. Iowa is dotted with hundreds of German, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch neighborhoods where the mother tongue and mother church are partly maintained. Within the second generation these traditional institutions practically disappear. In the case of communal religious societies, such as the Amana, Shakers, and Mormons, the process is slower, since barriers are erected to insulate the community against the chance entry of new ideas from the big world outside. The socialization process is delayed in the case of the Southern negro, where racial differences enter in to prevent free social intercourse. As soon as rural social clots dissolve, we have a free intermingling of city and rural strains.

8. The growth of capitalistic agriculture.

A large part of rural psychology has been based on the fact that the farmer has lived in a primitive, self-sufficing stage where his problems were to subdue physical nature rather than to battle with the technique and machinery of the business world. We should realize that within a few decades the value of capital invested in the typical Iowa farm has risen to $40,000. This has brought about the adoption of credit accounting, borrowing, etc., and has tinged the farmer with the psychology of the business man. At first, capitalistic agriculture may result in an increase of the number of tenants who farm land for absentee land owners. This is true where long-time loans and mortgages are hard to secure, and where financial depressions have reduced many farmers with limited capital to tenants and laborers. With long-time amortization credit backed by Federal Land Banks, there is a tendency for farmers with limited resources to attempt the ownership and control of more capital than they themselves have, and to adopt professional and business methods to secure profits upon this borrowed capital.

9. Professionalization.

The professional farmer is a phenomenon of the last decade. Scientific courses in stock judging, corn breeding, dairying, orcharding, agricultural mechanics, and farm economics have contributed a technique which tends to professionalize the farmer. In many corn-belt districts about 10 percent of the farmers have college training, while 20 to 25

percent have high school training. Moreover, many farms are manufacturing plants, where raw grains are molded and fashioned artistically into blooded livestock and dairy products. Starting with $5,000 worth of raw material, some of these farms put forth $15,000 worth of the refined products. To this extent, then, the farmer is dependent upon the element of human skill, science, and knowledge. To this extent he is independent of the factor of physical nature. At the same time the farmer must suit the whims, fancies, and tastes of a specialized market, *i.e.*, study human psychology rather than physical nature. Facing the problems of the technician and professional man, the farmer finds it is easy to associate and fraternize with these, in such organizations as lodges, commercial clubs, chambers of commerce, and farm bureaus.

Furthermore, in this connection, it should be noted that more professional books are appearing in farmers' libraries; more professional columns are appearing in the farm newspapers, while more demonstrations, institutes, and short courses are taking on a professional character. Thus it is not unlikely that we shall see the rise of a professional group of farmers who will put little into the "farming game" but their brains, education, land, and professional skill. For these they may receive a manager's salary or a share of the crop return, the capital and land being furnished by bankers, land-owing farmers who have retired, or by capitalists, as is the case with the English farmer, who, as a professional man, owns enough equipment to rent a large estate.

10. Co-operative movements.

One of the strongest forces counteracting individualism and "solitaire" psychology is co-operation. Although few realize it, the spread of the co-operative movement has been rapid. The Wisconsin farmers, today, market the bulk of their cheese through farmers' co-operative associations, while Iowa has 650 livestock shipping associations and 511 co-operative elevators, besides a large number of co-operative stores and banks. Through the co-operative organization, the farmer meets the problems of organizing corporations, electing directorates, and working with other farmers. Now the success of the co-operative institution depends not only upon the ability of the farmer to subdue his selfish individualism and "stick," but the courage to dub the individualistic farmer who stays out of the organization but secures its benefits a "slacker." The conduct of the business of these concerns brings the farmer into continual contact with his fellows and exerts a socializing influence; but the business of the city concern is exclusive and intensive in that it is conducted by a few, while the mass merely sell their labor. There are comparatively few co-

operative concerns in the city, and as yet few factories that have the system of shop representation, for the principle of the co-operative association means a wide dispersion of ownership and direction, with the maximum of responsibility for the average member. Individualism does not pay and is costly; hence effort must be put forth to develop more "we feeling." Co-operation seems to be the farmer's salvation, and he is being rapidly forced into various co-operative groups. He is a buyer and a seller of many products and it is not unlikely that in the next 20 years large numbers of farmers will be as well-trained in business and team-work as the average city merchant.

In summary, we can say that, whereas previous to 1919 most of the factors helped to create a distinct rural psychology, at present, most of them are tending to break it down. Most writers over-emphasize the factors which tend to give the country a psychology of its own, and underestimate the growing strength of the factors which are giving it a general mind. As yet, these factors have had little time to react on a majority of the rural sections or even on a majority of the farms, but the seed has been sown and the new spirit is in the air. Business agriculture, machine production, professional standards, urbanization of contacts, and co-operative movements spread according to the laws of suggestion and imitation, and, once having been injected into the agricultural system, may infect the entire mass in a comparatively few years. Certainly, modern, high-pressure educational methods with radios, extension departments, "movies," batteries of short-course workers, enormous amounts of printed literature, and rapid means of transportation will speed up many transformation processes which were very slow previous to 1890. Most of our typical rural psychology, then, is in the older generation, where our assimilating factors have operated feebly. Certainly little provincialism can be found among the younger generation. Thanks to a wide extension of commercial and city education, thanks to the expansion of agriculture in the city school, thanks to our education which gives our youth a greater range of choice of trade and profession, we have many city and town boys going to the country and many country boys going to the city.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAITS OF RURAL PEOPLE WHICH INFLUENCE THEIR SOCIALIZATION

Intelligence. Intelligence not only gives the individual the attention, the higher cultural interests, and the interpretative concepts for assimilating social experience, but also directly indicates the extent to which an

individual has been transformed by the process of socialization. The marks of intelligence, such as moral consciousness, language, science, appreciation of the artistic, are, to a large extent, a product of socialization by which the individual absorbs and assimilates, by an imitation process, the social heritage of concepts, morals, ideals, dialects, religions, and philosophies. Reared on a lonely island, the child of college-educated parents of superior mentality would not advance beyond the primitive stage. Intelligence is, then, both the cause and result of socialization.

Intelligence makes for points of contact with social groups and outside cultures, and to this extent, increases the number and range of social contacts. Ignorance breeds fear, suspicion, anti-sociality, and provincialism. The farmer of the more ignorant type is the one who tends to isolate himself from group life, from contact with his fellows, and from social stimuli.

Ignorant societies manifest caste and clan spirit, lethargy, indifferentism, and rule of the traditional—all of which tend to make a society static. Without a leadership of initiative, institutions fall into ruts where they are finally manipulated by selfish demagogues.

It is to the intelligent, then, that we have to look for leaders and initiators to organize activities and plan programs. The five or ten percent of people who are leaders are the ones who move, think, suggest, and inspire. Reliance should never be placed upon imported leaders who rush in with a well-learned speech of what ought to be done, but cannot remain to build a long-time program. In order to understand local conditions thoroughly and to work continually, a leader must be "home-grown," or at least be in local residence for several years. The percentage of "Alpha Intelligence" is small in any population, as is indicated in tests given by Terman [5] which show that from 15 to 25 percent of school children have this type of intellect. Since many of these, however, do not develop the leader's temperament and viewpoint, 10 percent would be a high figure for outstanding talent and leadership. The other 90 percent are indifferent, static, or looking for a "lead."

Intelligence has a very close correlation with participation in socializing institutions. Thus, in each community, there is an upper one-fifth who furnish the active personnel of the churches, lodges, clubs, farm bureaus, and commercial organizations. Their cultural background, their advanced concepts, their wider reading, give them interest in music, debates, lectures, and exhibits. Their example draws in a fringe of the

[5] Terman, L. M., *Intelligence of School Children*, pp. 18-19. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919.

less intelligent whose tastes are cultivated and trained after imitation and suggestion have brought them into contact with interest-groups. Every institution which may be organized must have its foundation within the more intelligent one-fifth, which would mean about 200 souls in the community of 1000 adults. This would include the possible membership of any organization that can be depended upon to remain active. Churches, lodges, and clubs in a community of 1000 adults rarely exceed 200 members. A few exciting events, such as circuses and celebrations, may occasionally draw out the other four-fifths who are moved by the urges of gregariousness, curiosity, and sensuality.

Factors and indications of the intelligence of the farmer. Even in the advanced states most of the rural children are still housed in inadequately and under-equipped "box-car schools." School attendance is irregular, classes are small, enrollments average around ten children per school, and the school year on the average is not much over five months. While figures indicate that over four-fifths of city children of the ages six to nine are in attendance at schools, we find scarcely seven-tenths of rural school children within this age group in attendance. The same figures from the census show that a larger percentage of rural children attend the high school and a considerably larger percentage the colleges. Studies also indicate that the one-to-three-year retardation runs as high as 50 percent among the smaller rural children. Apparently there are a large number of these children that overcome, in high school and college, this early handicap. Urban attendance runs heavier in the lower age groups up to 14 or 15 years, after which the rural attendance runs higher. Rural surveys from various sections give indications as to the education of the farmer. Four Iowa surveys [6] show that 75 percent of the owners and 70 percent of the tenants have a common school education, while the corresponding figure for their wives is 68 percent and 62 percent. In the United States the average education, as shown by education censuses, does not go much above the fifth grade. Surveys indicate that approximately 11 percent of owners in Iowa and 9 percent of tenants have some college training, where as a rule but 3.85 percent within the general population enter college and but 1.4 percent graduate. In Howard County, Missouri, 12 farmers out of 44 had gone to college. Education has a selective relation to intelligence, since it is generally the more intelligent who enter advanced educational institutions. The percentage of people with Alpha intelligence and the percentage of those seeking higher educa-

[6] Thaden, J. F., *An Analytical and Critical Study of Rural Social Surveys in the United States*, p. 86 (Unpublished Thesis, on file at Iowa State College Library).

tion closely correspond. Such agricultural states as Iowa, Wisconsin, and North Dakota have an illiteracy rate far below that for the United States as a whole.

Specific phases of the mental make-up of the farmer.

1. Facility of expression and quickness of response.

Because he works alone and has little opportunity to express himself, the farmer is often listed as moody and uncommunicative. Actually, farmers have more time to talk to their family than business men, especially in the winter. They also have opportunity to converse with their fellows at sales, around threshing machines, cornshellers, haying gangs, and harvest groups. Within the factory the noise of machinery, the racial variations in language, and the social gap between manager, foreman, and worker preclude heart-to-heart talks. It has been the writer's experience that farmers like to talk about such things as business affairs, crops, weather, politics, taxes, and prices. Often in taking a farm questionnaire, fifteen minutes will be consumed in making the tabulation, while one hour will be spent in visiting with the farmer who may have been longing for a chance to get some ideas out of his system. Few business men will feel like taking an "hour off" to talk and visit. Although the farmer may talk more slowly and awkwardly, he strikes to the core of the issue and continues his discussion to its conclusion. The lack of niceties, affectations, polish is more than counterbalanced by forcefulness, sincerity, and directness.

2. Power of attention and concentration.

There are few diversions to shift the thought train of the farmer. One line of thought can be pursued hour after hour, until sometimes it becomes distorted. The strain of following the plow or lifting the bundle, the monotonous click of the check-wire, the rhythmic exhaust of the tractor, may prevent the orderly progress of thought through logical stages and tend to make it reiterate itself. The senses are not dulled by a continual bombardment of mass contacts with hurtling crowds, but remain keen to any new attraction. Thus the farmer, on account of the relaxation of riding and the hunger for human contacts, has a far keener appetite for programs than the city man.

3. Memory.

In his solitary occupation the farmer tends to live more within his imagination and so to draw on his visual and auditory memory to supply his conscious stream with persons, events, and situations. When lack of personal associates prevents the play of the present on his thought stream, much of his life tends to become reminiscent. In the winter the

farmer does much reading upon which he ruminates during the busy days of spring and summer. As life tends to shift to the internal rather than the external, the powers of memory are stimulated and developed. While the business man has the habit of using the desk calendar to freshen his memory of appointments, and to record his transactions in his account book, the farmer, to a larger degree relies on his memory to "keep track" of his business dealings. On this account, events which have become dim to the city man by a flood of mass impressions, the farmers will remember and brood over for years. In the memory factor we have not only a partial explanation of the predilection of the rural mind to grudges, revenges, and feuds, but also a means of understanding the sensitiveness of country people to jokes, sarcasm, jests, and implications about their personality.

4. Reason and logic.

Since the farmer does not receive each morning a slip with his orders thereon, he must think, plan, and decide for himself. He must suffer the consequences of his own mistakes and blunders. This tends to array the factors and reasons for two possible lines of action rather deliberately and slowly. The slowness of the farmer's mind is often nothing more than his tendency to do some reasoning before he expresses himself, for the reasoning mind must inhibit and deliberate. Debating societies are more common in the country than in the city. Almost every week the weather upsets the farmer's plans. For the most part the city man's work is quite definitely and rigidly marked out. A mind insulated against mass impressions and trivial diversions by the people who prey upon its time can concentrate on one line of thinking. City industry in its specialized form forces upon the mind comparatively few correlations between cause and effect. Hours and product; time and pay; the lever and the movement,—all indicate some ever-recurring sequences in shop and foundry. But agricultural production introduces a large range of cause-and-effect relations. The rotation of crops and the cycle of insect pests, temperature and plant growth, moisture and character of plant structure and content, rations and animal growth, intensity of tillage and profit, quantity of labor and capital in relation to quantity of land, quantity of crops and prices, meteorological conditions and resultant weather, character of tillage and fertilization, and quantity and quality of crops are a few of the correlations that present themselves to the farmer's observations. To the city man the time and the product are the two factors that correlate with income. To the farmer a hundred factors such as the above mentioned ones present themselves. A casual, disinterested observer might easily

pass over these relationships, but the farmer's profits and bank account are so influenced by them that they become the objects of his continual consideration. The mind which might inherently and naturally resist a reasoning process is drawn into the problems of correlation through the economic instinct. Note how words expressing the process of reason adorn the rural vocabulary, and how such expressions as "common sense," "calculate," "figure out," "reasonable," and so on, indicate the respect for rational methods.

5. Resistance to delusion and sham.

The farmer almost instinctively detests the superficial, tinseled, and camouflaged. "Plain, simple, but genuine," means a higher rating in the farmer's scale than a "Queen Anne front and a Mary Ann back." Niceties, conventions, polish and affected sociability do not fit into a system where one deals with the honest process of nature. City people maintain their social position to a larger extent by the superficialties of mere appearance and conspicuous consumption. The farmer maintains his community position by the power of his family history, his reputation built by years of residence in one place, and his plainly visible possessions, such as barns and livestock. These things, according to the rural mind, are the real measure of personal value, rather than manners and accomplishments. The farmer who may be careless of his own personal appearance keeps his yard and fields in "apple-pie" order.

RURAL TEMPERAMENT

Temperament and the adjustment to environment. Every type of environment tends to push certain emotional and ideational reactions into the foreground. These emotional responses gradually become so habitual that they constitute a temperament. Now this temperament can be gauged by noting the manner in which a population type goes about the business of life. Now, the farmer works with nature and physical forces to a larger degree than the salesman, business man, or professional man. It is quite apparent that the world of animals and plants responds to a direct or frontal attack, while human nature responds better to inducement and diplomacy. Physical nature imposes resistance, which must be overcome by brute force. Weights must be moved against time and distance. Many farm operations, such as scooping, pitching, plowing, require a considerable degree of physical prowess, so naturally the farmer has always idolized the display of physical and manual technique. In its pioneer phase agriculture selected an aggressive, adventurous, forceful, and

motor type. Speaking, thought, and action were direct and vigorous. Life was a thing of action. During this period the forceful type of leader that acted first and talked afterwards was picked. Music was of the primitive, rhythmic, motor type, which made an appeal to the feet and hands. The barn fiddler kept time to his music with his foot and gave it a regular beat. In the economic struggle for markets, prices, and profits, the farmer has been slow to adopt the method of diplomacy, lobbying, and deliberation. He has considered his salvation in long hours of hard toil, dedicated to the bare-handed grapple with nature.

Development of the conservative or puritanic temperament. This type is dictatorial in its methods, and practices self-denying asceticism in its social adjustment. It takes its pleasure in belief and opinion, and is austere in its character type,[7] *e.g.*, the Puritan or the Quaker. Doubtless in the early periods of settlement by religious sects, this type would predominate. There are, however, other factors that tend to give this type of *psyche* to rural people.

1. Many rural communities have a surplus of the middle-aged. The community without its share of youth tends to conservatism and "old fogyism." In many communities a long series of object lessons, propaganda, education and experience is required to change a traditional notion. Since things work slowly in the realm of nature, any mistake made by a premature plan or "new-fangled" scheme takes time to remedy. The turnover of capital is slow in agriculture; the turnover in the testing of plans and new ideas is slow.

2. The strong individualist, who gives orders to children, hired men, and horses, can easily develop a somewhat domineering attitude; but any business or undertaking which depends upon voluntary co-operation or volunteer effort must work with inducement rather than domination. An organization such as the military, which can use coercion and which must develop positive action and obedience of orders, is domineering. The farmer works with animals and inanimate materials without wills. Since there are few child-labor laws which interfere with his plans, the farmer has somewhat of the power of the Old Testament patriarch over his children, although this domineering temperament often drives young people from the farm.

3. Social effects of the dogmatic and domination psychology.

a. Institutions develop fixity, which make them respond slowly to change. Much of the traditional, the ritualistic, and the creedal develop in rural institutions where dogmatism prevails.

[7] See Giddings, Franklin H., *Inductive Sociology*, p. 72. The Macmillan Co., 1914.

b. An attempt is often made to dominate a church, club, or society. This causes many factional splits between organizations.

c. There must be a relatively large number of offices created to present an opportunity for leadership.

d. There must always be a respect for rules and traditions, and a reverence for the past. Institutions will tend to be conservative in their policy.

e. Custom will play a larger rôle in social control than fashion.

f. Rural organizations will always have a large amount of attractive ritual.

g. There will be a tendency to react against the light and frivolous type of recreation. Fun must be plain, simple, and free from any suggestion of the sportive. A community of this sort tends towards asceticism and a neglect of recreation. Their lives become fixed, strongly opinionated, quiet, and austere.

The development of the sociable or sportive temperament. This type is rare in most communities, since the two former types are likely to predominate. Life in the frugal country has been relatively free from the nervous stimulation of sedentary life. Consequently, there is not the inner urge to indulge appetites abnormally. Stern, hard contests with debts, storms, and droughts do not make for the frivolity and blitheness of the true convivial. Sex energy escapes in muscular exertion rather than in indulgence. The cities are the places of dope, drink, and cabarets as well as of welfare stations. The opportunity to develop conviviality by treating and loafing with "pals" does not develop where people not only associate more as families but have fewer contacts with convivial groups. Because of the family character of rural association, conviviality develops into hospitality.

Everybody knows everybody else in the rural community, while families have a larger number of consanguineal ties. This engenders a large amount of visiting and extension of family hospitality. The Sunday dinner is a happy survival of the old communal feast, where friendship was cultivated through the common meal. While in many rural churches and community associations people linger to visit, the city-church audience soon dissipates after formal acknowledgement of acquaintanceship. Since food is comparatively cheap in the country and a considerable amount of pride attaches to culinary arts, the farmer is a food-producing artist and the wife a professional cook. Each takes a personal pride in the table laden with tasty dishes. The city person who patronizes cafeteria and professional bakery can never express his individuality to such a degree

in the commensal feast. Eating and feasting, then, become, almost instinctively, a part of the rural program, and are so relied upon as a basic institution to cultivate hospitality. Rural people enjoy a sociable good time with plenty to eat and with boon neighbors. The people, however, who crave the more sensual, gay, and tinseled type of amusement, gravitate towards the city. There agencies exist to gratify—for money—every fancy and whim of the pleasure "bibber" who sips at the melodramatic and gaudy. In some sections the convivial-minded determine the club program, with the result that farmers' clubs degenerate into dancing parties and card sessions. Within the country town can be found "hang-outs" for those whose laziness commends to them the inane and puerile pastimes of pool halls and card dens. The small town always has a knot of pleasure-seekers who dip into the city type of dissipations.

Eating, during the sociable hour, will always figure as an attraction for rural gatherings, for open-air exercise provides keen appetites and gives expression to the pleasures of taste and smell. Hungry rural people present a much happier and attentive mental attitude towards the program or business session after they are fed.

Development of an inventive, intellectual, and artistic nature. People whose pleasure consists in thought, creative imagination, and philosophizing are rare in any population.[8] They comprise, perhaps, not over seven to ten percent. Most people take their pleasures in sensations of taste, bright colors, melodious sounds, or in cultivating beliefs or dogmas. They are rarely in a position to think out new propositions and to take the initiative in constructing programs.

The farm has always been looked upon as the source of leaders and originators, and quite consistently, for from our original, pioneer stock, whose individuality was strongly developed, have come our men of statecraft, science, scholarship, and genius. Its solitude and independence, its absence of dissipation, convivial and sensual activities, drew out the original powers of the intellect. Furthermore, the farm has always given play to the creative ability up to a certain degree, although certain types of creative talent, such as are revealed in art, surgery, scientific research, or musical composition, are intensively cultivated only in the cultural centers of population.

There are, however, opportunities on the farm for the manifestation and exercise of a fair amount of creative ability. Building up new strains of show corn, breeding up prize-winning cattle, planning a farmstead and field layout, horticultural work, etc., encourage the farmer to express his

[8] See Giddings, Franklin H., *Inductive Sociology*, p. 88. The Macmillan Co., 1914.

constructive instinct. Thus the farmer, with this strong instinct of creation, has always been a heavy contributor to the professions. Considering Iowa State College graduates and students on the basis of their paternal-occupational relations, it will be found, in certain engineering lines, that the farm contributed 40 percent of the graduates.

Apparently there has not been an exodus of women of this artistic-creative type. In the last few years there has been an invasion of the arts and professions by single women, but this has been too recent to affect the process of selection. Women with these powers have married farmers and so remained in the country. In many rural communities much of the leadership of art and culture circles comes from the women. Such organizations are far more common among women than among men.

Rural people are quite inventive and resourceful. Every farm has its home-made contrivances in the way of gate-openers, corn-shocking frames, hand trucks, litter carriers, home-made bobs, corn listers, and devices for checking. The farmer, with his rainy days and long winter seasons, tends to utilize his waste time in devising home-made appliances that will save him the expense of buying these things on the commercial market. On one farm near the Missouri river a flood inundated a field of shocked wheat and filled the butts of the bundles with mud. The caked mud could not be gotten rid of without amputating the bottom half of the bundle. The solution of the emergency was the invention of a miniature guillotine constructed from gas pipe, wooden blocks, and a stalk cutter blade. A large number of the improvements on farm machinery have come about at the suggestion of farmers who tried out these machines under actual conditions. During the more recent years, we have noted in rural communities the emerging of the intellectual form of activity in the guise of debating societies, discussion groups, lecture programs, and study circles. A very small percentage of city groups are of this type, since they verge more into the convivial or commercial type.

There can be no doubt as to the extreme importance of the group which is dominated by this type of psychology. They furnish the leadership personnel for clubs, investigation committees, and steering committees. They represent the leaven, the dynamic element of the community. It can better spare a dozen of the other types, than one of these. Our big enigma today is: what are the numbers of these?

RURAL MOTIVATION

Much of the behavior and action of any people is impulsive rather than purposeful and rational. Life so closely associated with primitive

environment as agriculture must be largely guided by impulse. The urges of a people struggling for expression are an excellent key to their psychic life and their activities. We can give an interesting interpretation of many rural phenomena on the basis of irrational motivation.

Curiosity. The city mind lives within the melodramatic where it continually meets with shifting scenes and beholds sights that quench the desire of the curiosity seeker. A continual exposure to the bizarre and sensational tends to take the edge from interest in the ordinary. The native, original curiosity for the unknown in the natural world remains strong in the rural resident. Farmers always ask the question as to why a thing works; farmers frequently inquire as to what is back of any particular phenomenon, such as weak corn roots, hard soils, and cholera epidemics. In the country, nature is continually propounding conundrums and puzzles. Groves [9] calls attention to a somewhat degenerate form of curiosity which he terms the interest of the rural person in "gossip." "One might define gossip as a depraved product of curiosity. Country people are fond of gossip; indeed gossip may become one of the popular recreations of the country group. It is difficult to bring together any gathering without at least one who personifies gossip . . . any group of people with little interest and much hard work and few contacts finds relief in gossip." Another factor in the development of gossip is the fact that people in a rural community know their neighbor and his history. Personalism, reputation, and family rivalry are strong, so that the intimate gossip has a nascent interest. In contrast, impersonal associations with city crowds and mobile urban neighborhoods do not form an easy background for gossip.

The strength of curiosity among rural people can be observed with the avidity with which they flock to programs, shows, and other entertainments which have an element of mystery.

Acquisitiveness. Groves explains this motive among rural peoples on the basis of "self-assertion," desire for family prestige, and a recognition of the cost of producing things. He shows how the farmer has an innate respect for property rights, which gives him a conservative attitude towards radical reforms; he explains how this motive gives him consuming "hunger" for land to the extent that he over-capitalizes in land and becomes land poor.

He also notes that this same passion may in some cases drive him to become a miser. City people work with the things of other people; they own their property often in the invisible form. On the other hand, the

[9] Groves, E. R., *op. cit.*, p. 152.

farmer's products are not invisible services or refined, worked-over products, but physical things which can be measured quantitatively by the eye. Naturally, he would develop a love for such physical property as fields and barns.

Rhythm. Agriculture, in its natural processes, propounds a series of cycles of a major and a minor nature. Droughts, locusts, financial depressions, hard times, seasons, weather changes, and animal diseases come in a more or less regular succession which can be plotted with a wave-line. Many of the farm machines, such as planters, tractors, and binders, have rhythmical clicks, pulsations, and whirrs. The primitive mind had a strong sense of rhythm as manifested by the syncopated, jazzy character of its music and dancing. Rural people have a strong sense of rhythm and are strongly stimulated and appealed to by any movement, activity, or music that is rhythmical. Irregular movements bring fatigue much sooner than regularly-timed movements. It is evident that the introduction of more music, songs, and exercise of a rhythmical character will be a great antidote for the tired feeling that often prevents the full expression of the rural instincts.

Sex, parental and family impulses. Several elements converge to bring these impulses in their more normal form, into strong ascendency in the country. In the city the environment tends to give these urges a rather unnatural, depraved manifestation. Sex in the country is taken as a matter of course and in line with the world of reproduction processes. In the city there is a tendency to conceal and camouflage the natural development of sex, which leads to secrecy and the seeking of the knowledge of sex in morbid, sensual, and vicious circumstances. The following factors should be considered when we equate the sex influencing elements.

1. Sex and parental urges do not have to compete against such other forces as the crowd and gregarious impulses. The inability to satisfy the craving for group life tends to force the energy in the direction of the parental and sexual.

2. The power of reproduction of his animals and plants is a direct factor in the farmer's profits and income. To a large degree he must have scientific knowledge concerning the conditions and control of reproduction. The farmer, in the midst of a maze of reproductive processes, regards reproduction as a natural and ordinary event.

3. There is a close connection between father and son, and mother and daughter in the farm home. The relative seclusion of the farm home offers more opportunity for the development of the parental and family impulses. The care of seedling and small animal will tend to intensify the motive of

parenthood. People in the country seek their companionship within the family rather than within outer society.

Any social arrangement or organization must give these urges a chance for free, normal expression, and recreation must be built, to a large extent, on the family basis with a sufficient range for all ages. The participation of the young people of both sexes in games, clubs, and athletics, will give the sex impulse a chance to develop in a normal rather than a depraved way. Farm bureaus succeed best and manifest more enthusiasm when both women and men are included in the membership. No other plane of rivalry and classification is so elemental and appealing as that of sex. Contests which play up in burlesque the shortcomings and the excellences of sex are likely to have more zest and vigor. While city society tends to segregate sexes into womens' societies and men's clubs, country society tends to retain a balance of sexes. For this reason the latter tends to retain a wholesomeness and naturalness. In the country town engagements, weddings, and marriages form a topic for conversation which lasts for months and years.

Country organizations should avoid the monosex character, since rural society is built on the family basis rather than on the individual basis. The accessibility of the city home to social activities makes it possible for various members of the family to seek their cronies on foot, and to come and go at different times. But rural families which depend on the same vehicle for transportation must come and go as a unit. Hence, every rural meeting should make provision for the amusement of all ages and for the care of infants. Programs must also have something of interest for all ages, and to this extent must have variety. Problems must center on the welfare of the family or the child in order to have a strong appeal to the rural audience. Family suppers, family dinners, family contests, and family churches characterize rural life. Thus, we build rural games, rural organizations, rural churches, rural industries, rural contests, and rural progress around the family. Contending that such social life breeds egoism, narrowness, and clannishness rather than communityism, some sociologists would have the farmer take more of his social contacts outside of the family circle. There is no doubt that we must strike a balance between the contacts inside and outside the home. There are a certain number of advantages in family society and association that should not be overlooked.

1. In rainy and cold seasons, the family is shut in with one another's company. Family reading circles, family music, and family games help prevent social starvation and gloomy days.

2. Domestic relations, as well as companionship between parent and

child, are augmented by family association. This solidarity is vital in an age when many influences conspire to break up the home solidarity and start family necrosis.

3. The family throbs with individualizing activities, whereas institutions of a larger scope are in danger of standardization.

4. The members of the family are so accustomed to seeing one another in industrial, economic, and home relationships that there is a lack of romance and novelty. Placing the family in new relations for social and recreational activities tends to give them a new pleasure.

RURAL MIND AND THE ASSIGNMENT OF VALUES

A great deal of human nature is revealed in its scale of values and in the things to which it attaches sufficient importance to seek assiduously.

Several characteristics may be noted in rural valuation.

1. We have noted before that rural people put more emphasis on what a man has and upon his family history than on his immediate personal appearance. Rural people do not respect affected, polished, and artificial persons, and often believe that "dudishness" and artificial manners hide a deficiency in genuine character. Among plain, simple folk, such substantial things as reputation, property, and family carry more prestige. People who meet only casually and who do not stay long enough in one place to know each other's history must judge largely from external appearance, physiognomy, and first impressions. People who have access to the history of their associates do not have to rely on externals, and so hold them in contempt.

2. Emphasis upon the tangible and physical. The farmer often believes that any class which does not produce something measurable in gallons or pounds is parasitic. Such classes have nothing to show for their work. On this account rural taxpayers often object to raising the pay of teachers or social workers commensurately with the education and skill required for the work.

Even though the effort carried them into such tasks as peddling barbed wire and distributing garden seeds, rural organizations have been forced to show visible results which could be measured in terms of dollars or bushels.

3. Emphasis upon acts rather than upon words

The farmer has often been the victim of "oily-tongued," slippery stock salesmen, and of confidence men. Hence he has learned the duplicity and ambiguity of words. Agriculture, being a business of action, both individual and family depend upon the action-record.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Assuming that the sociology of a rural people emanates largely from their mental attitudes, their instinctive tendencies to react to other individuals, and their habitual and conscious performance in society, show how the psychology of a race or occupational group influences their sociology.
2. Why has group psychology been studied mostly in urban localities? Distinguish between abnormal psychology and normal psychology. Abnormal sociology and normal sociology—which should we use in studying the farmer?
3. Relate rural psychology to the city-ward movement.
4. Is there a true rural mind? Explain. Should the community engineer be in close touch with the rural mind? Why? To what extent is rural psychology a more-or-less superficial adaptation to occupation? Can we speak of the peculiar mental traits and psychology of a minister, a doctor, a lawyer, a book-agent?
5. Show how the constitution, methods of procedure, and sociology of an organization is colored with the psychology of its individuals. Give several illustrations.
6. What is a "psychology"?
7. What factors tend to give the farmer a distinctive psychology? What factors are giving him a cosmopolitan mind? To what extent are such primitisms as fatalism, superstition, animism, fear religion, unspecialized industry, and handicraft work found in rural life? Account for the one thousand Kentucky superstitions found by the contributors to Thomas's questionnaire.
8. How does the farmer's adaptation to his occupational environment affect the development of his communicativeness? Power of attention? Reasoning? Simulation? Old fogyism? Suspicion? Individualism? Localism? Rebellion against authority?
9. To what extent is rural psychology created by certain European races that have migrated to the country? To what extent would a city German have a different psychology from a rural German?
10. Does rural living encourage the domineering type of personality? The austere? The convivial? The scientific?
11. What human motives tend to be over-developed by rural life? Under-developed? What is meant by the morbid or abnormal manifestation of such urges as curiosity? What are the dangers of repressed desires?

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CHAPTER XIV

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR IN SOCIALIZATION

THE ATTACHMENT OF ASSOCIATION TO LOCALITY

The limitations of transportation and communication, plus human inertia, have tended to localize human contacts. Only during the pastoral and hunting stage did man break away from the neighborhood moorings. Ever the power of clan-tradition, dialect, and ancestor worship imposed formidable barriers to free socialization. Within the old agricultural village, there was the closest tie to land and place. People lived, married, worshipped, and died within an area eight miles across. Memories and traditions so interwove themselves into the landscape that no person could define his personality without reference to place.

Within the country, people are still known by their community and neighborhood, while, as if by contrast, the city dweller is classified on the basis of his clique. Rural society is relatively immobile; city society is comparatively mobile. In the city's maelstrom of migration all traces of ancestry, neighborhood, and land relationships are obliterated. Country people have, in spite of their automobiles and radios, a strong sense of neighborhood. The locality still inspires loyalty and affectionate remembrance. Ancestral estates, sacred spots, and family trees continue to draw the rural citizen homeward from the lures of distant lands. Of course, it can no longer be claimed that rural communities are social islands, as was the case in the ancient village community. However, it can be asserted that so much of the value of land and town property is of a social nature that each person within the community instinctively casts his lot with his neighbors. The small, wagon-and-horse, twenty-family neighborhood has almost passed out of existence in many sections; yet, "locality-consciousness" has found another resting place in the social unit called Community. In his surveys of Dane County, Wisconsin, Kolb [1] discovered many historic neighborhoods, which were definitely named by farmers. Most of them originated in racial settlements and nucleated around churches, schools, and stores. In Iowa such names as Cripple Creek, Pleasant Hill,

[1] Kolb, J. H., *Rural Primary Groups*. University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin No. 51, pp. 3-10.

Prairie Center, Honey Creek, and Smith's Hollow, designate well-known neighborhoods.

The fact that rural association has been so closely attached to locality has greatly simplified the scientific study of rural groups. Since geography can be plotted in terms of space, we attain more definition and concreteness by visualizing in spatial devices. Almost unconsciously, the mind follows logical sequences of cause and effect through a sort of spatialized order.

As rural society evolves from the primitive to the modern, and as interest groups supplant racial and local neighborhoods, a smaller and smaller percentage of the farmer's social contacts will be taken inside of his immediate community. At present, perhaps, four-fifths of his contacts are extra-neighborhood.

POWER OF GEOGRAPHY OVER RURAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS

The difference between city and country, from the standpoint of geography and distance as a limiting factor in association, is becoming less. In fact, today, the caste and clique nature of city society is becoming more of a factor than rural topography for restricting association. A farmer living on a middle-class, democratic plane of sociability can span the physical distance which separates him from his neighbor far easier than the city man can span the social distance which separates him from his co-resident. There are certain considerations which not only tend to stabilize the farmers' association within a certain geographical area, but which also make it desirable to organize religious, educational, and social activities on such basis.

First, the farmer's capital is comparatively immobile as compared to the city man's; and it is far more attached to soil. If the social and economic condition of the community degenerates, the city man can transfer his stock of goods to another place. However, if community degeneracy sets in, the farmer must take the drop in the social value of his land with its corresponding effect on prices. A very small percentage of the capital of the average land-owning farmer is invested in such mobile things as machinery or livestock, while the bulk of his money is tied up in land and buildings. It is true that the tenant has more of his capital in movables, and for this reason a community of tenants is not so concerned over the social values. If schools, churches, and recreational facilities suffer a slump, the tenant can move to another community where these are thriving. In this way he can economically and financially escape the blight of falling social values. As a result of this immobility of property,

the long-term tenant, who must depend on local schools, churches, and clubs, for his service, becomes a loser through social depletion. On account of the operation of the same factor, the land-owning farmer recognizes that he has strong reasons for building up socializing institutions within the vicinity of his farm. The retired farmer can escape the direct disadvantage of living with undeveloped social institutions and social Saharas, but his immobile land holdings cannot. The fact that much of his capital can never be moved out of a certain geographical area will always make the farmer think more or less in terms of place and distance, although improvement of transportation which connects his farm with the service of a more distant area will tend to curb the power of immediate locality over his land. Thus, because certain Iowa farms are more accessible to educational, religious, and social advantages, there is a differential of one hundred dollars per acre in land of the same physical quality. Only as rapid communication "breaks down" the isolation around some of the rich farms in "dead communities," and permits improved community service to be moved to the land, will this differential be narrowed.

Second, the farmers' possessions have a more personal aspect. Most observers of the rural life note an almost unconscious tendency to cling to the land and homestead. In many rural communities seventy-five per-cent of the farm children remain at home. Many of the farms have more of a biography than that of the families which reside on them. Often, when the question is asked about the location of a certain farm, the reply is made:

"O yes, you mean the Brown farm—well that is three miles north of town. Who lives there? Well I don't know."

The son has a personal attachment to the farm and its machinery. The plow of his father, his favorite team of horses, the orchard which he set out, all have a human value. Building and livestock are handed down from father to son in a personal, traditional way which involves much family pride. The natural environs of the city belong to the municipality or to some lot company for real-estate speculation. Thus few natural trees, groves, or ponds are owned individually. Often the capital of the city man is in the form of impersonal, invisible, and unattached stocks and bonds. All this gives impersonality to the city man's possessions.

The tenant who is not moored to a place, and who, loading up his earthly belongings into hay racks, can transfer his family to another spot, does not form this attachment to the particular neighborhood or experience this human aspect of locality. But he is not in the majority. Commercialism has, to a certain extent, undermined the personal and spiritual

elements that attach themselves to a homestead and community; and as people sacrifice these things for commercial advantages and as they manifest little compunction for selling the "old farm," not only will the geographical factor have less import for the farmer, but the word "community" will be less of a thing to conjure with in building social solidarity.

Third, rural populations are far less mobile than city populations. Within his university town the writer finds it difficult to keep track of those who live in neighboring apartments, so rapid and kaleidoscopic are the changes. On the other hand, in his home neighborhood there were twenty or more related families who had lived there for thirty years. Immobile populations naturally develop more attachment to spots and locations. While our rural community is a visible, permanent, and personal thing, our city community is an invisible, temporary, and speculative affair.

Fourth, rural locations, personalities, and institutions are quite provincialized. Places in the country carry memories and episodes that are handed down for many generations. Men are talked of as being of a certain neighborhood, owning so many acres, and working a certain farm for so many years. Geography and location are very strong cards of identification with rural people. In the city men are identified by professions, clubs, business firms, and corporations. In the country their personality is identified with spots and places. As we have noted before, many places are more permanent in people's affection than their migratory inhabitants. In rural community gatherings tug-of-war contests between two townships or neighborhoods arouse intense interest. On the other hand, a pull between two city blocks would excite little personal enthusiasm. Socialization and association will be, for some time, conceived by the farmer in terms of locality. The Forest Center Sunday School or Farm Bureau, the Washington Boy's Club, etc., mean more to the Farmer than the Men's Progressive Club, or Women's Élite Society. In some Iowa communities there will be juxtaposed rival churches each with its local name. Both have among their members Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists. The line of conflict is not denominational but local. The Baptists of Eagle Center will work for their church in rivalry with the Baptists of Belleville. Overhead denominational organizations often fail to see that neighborhood and local patriotism is stronger than sectarianism. In the city where this loyalty to place does not exist, it is possible to create sectarian rivalry as such. Especially does denominational feeling become intense when it is associated with "the city social set." Thus, while we see many denominational churches failing in the country, we see them growing in the city.

As yet the city type of organization has so dominated the country that many communities have thrust upon them a type of rivalry that they cannot understand. Free from cliques and "social sets," they fail to understand why they cannot all attend the same church; and, especially do they wonder at the lack of co-operation of the church which is so vital to the moral influence of the neighboring school and to the land values of their neighborhood. Denominational zealots have many times wrestled with the problem of building up sectarian consciousness against local loyalty.

Fifth, the farmer's business is varied much by geography. A rough farm affects his scheme of transportation and laying out of fields. A few hills add obstacles to his crop marketing. This topography and natural geography of a locality forms an everlasting topic of interest among farmers. The business place of the farmer is extended and figured in acres and hollows; the constricted business place of the city worker is computed in square feet. The geography and the natural characteristics of his region are hidden by the artificial superstructure of brick and steel, fashioned by the hand of man. The farmer is, as Galpin [2] strikingly states, limited and bounded by distance and gravity. It seems as if his whole day is stretched out into space and distance. His day in June is stretched out into a row of corn fifteen miles long; his day in April is drawn out into a furrow twenty miles long. Day after day the farmer registers his work through rods and miles, contending clod by clod and bundle by bundle against the power of gravity. Hour after hour these two elements are ground into his consciousness. His measurement of space, distance, and area are extremely accurate, and his valuation of topography is keen and discriminating. Only those who have spent a period of years on a farm can realize the investment of personality in locality and place. Galpin shows how this struggle with distance and gravity gradually seeps into the nervous system of the farmer, tending to develop fewer of the finely co-ordinated motions and more of the fundamental movements.

It is, then, quite apparent that a complex of forces has contributed to the farmer's strong sense of locality, neighborhood, and community. And this localism may be made a constructive rather than a destructive thing, for one of the forces which rural sociologists must utilize is community patriotism.

Galpin is making a challenge for "Rurbanism" by showing the close relationship which the town bears to the contiguous farms. By virtue of the fact that races segregate into neighborhood settlements, the evolution

[2] Galpin, C. J., *Rural Life*, pp. 4-9. The Century Co., 1920.

from neighborhood loyalty to community loyalty has been slow. The teaching of community sociology in the consolidated school should be a powerful factor in building community patriotism among the new generation of farmers. The movement of farmers to city and of city people to farm has tended to replace neighborhood loyalty with community spirit. One of the weaknesses in rural organization work is neighborhood rivalry which often wrecks community spirit. In addition there is anti-town spirit to contend with. Our future contests will use rivalry between communities, rather than rivalries within communities, while inter-community competition will tend to supplant intra-community competition.

And, in passing, we should note that if we ever evolve into a system of capitalistic farming our plane of consciousness will be that of class rather than locality. The English farmer, when supervising a string of farms from his business office, does not feel the local tie. The English agricultural laborer is loyal to the labor union rather than to his community. A region owned by a corporation and peopled by laborers is apt to be devoid of community pride.

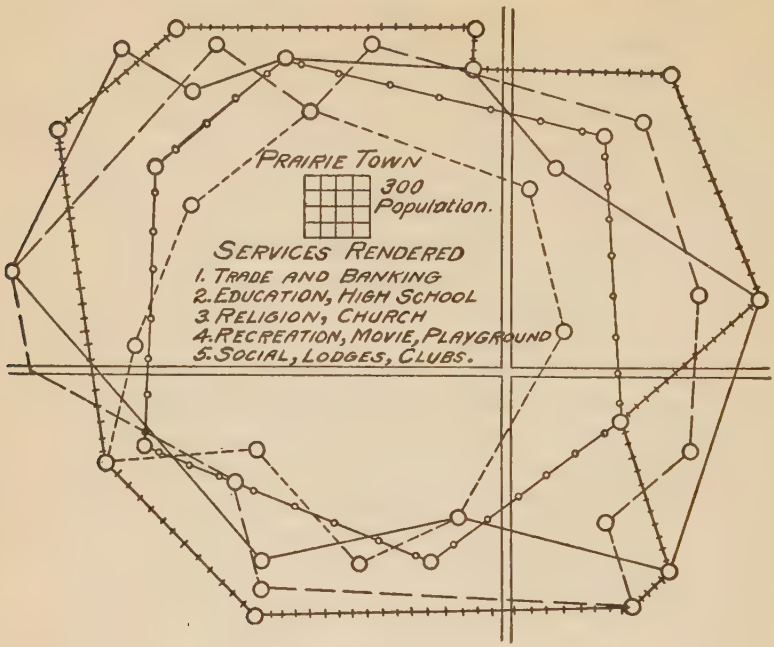
THE NATURAL COMMUNITY

The science of community demography, as it has been applied by Galpin and others to community mapping, has led to the discovery of the natural community as an organism of interrelated functions, religious, civic, economic, and social. Instead of defining a community by lines run by an engineer's transit and supposed to mark out such a political entity as a county or township, the rural sociologist defines it upon the basis of natural human association. People actuated by business motives and gregarious instincts cannot be corraled by geometrical lines, even though these have the prestige of law. For the purposes of political administration and civic expediency, a state is divided into townships and counties. Organizations of a voluntary character may take the cue and attempt to organize upon this basis; and they will succeed wherever there is not the basic necessity of social solidarity. Yet, the transit of the sociologist, following social watersheds, divides the state into several thousand areas in which people naturally associate and co-operate together to conduct churches, lodges, stores, schools, banks, community centers, clubs, motion picture houses, and farm bureaus. In some cases these sociological and economic confines coincide with voting areas. Thus, in Boone County,

Iowa, there is the Community of Jordan, which practically includes Jackson Township. The consolidated school takes in a considerable part of the township, and every rural organization built upon a township basis is also built upon a community basis. Rarely, however, is the natural community identical with the artificial, political community. The only significant thing about that indescribable entity, called the township, is that it is presided over by a board of trustees who spend money upon its roads, that it has an assessor who makes the rounds once each year, that it has a constable who is known only at election time, and that its citizens come annually to its polls to vote. Hundreds of townships in the corn belt compose parts of three or four communities divided by distinct social watersheds. Today social engineers believe that most activities and institutions which depend upon close human co-operation should be organized upon the basis of the natural community. This natural community has evolved from the neighborhood stage to the town-trade-area or community stage, because automobiles have moved agriculture into trade relations with the country town. Instead of the church or store at the cross-roads serving as a nucleus for the mobilization of associational life, the trade town of from 200 to 2500 population acts as the center of social activities.

The method of locating the natural community is to enclose the areas which represent the organization of various interests, and then to superimpose these different service communities upon each other. The town nucleus renders several services, such as church, school, banking, trade, and library. The outermost rural homes reached by these services are connected to form a series of overlapping polygons. A polygon, interpolated as a sort of mean between these various polygons, would serve as a theoretical, natural community. Since banking and trade seem to be basic services, they exercise more influence in determining the stable community.

The outermost homes reached by any particular service can generally be ascertained by consulting such persons as bankers, grocerymen, ministers, school superintendents, and club presidents. With a map of the community before them, they can easily put their pointer upon these homes. This diagram of a hypothetical case indicates that the community includes fragments of four townships, which is often the case under actual conditions. Sometimes the community contains parts of two counties or even of two states, since human association based on such forces as business, religion, recreation, and fraternity pays little heed to invisible geometrical lines which mark out civil divisions.



LEGEND

1. TRADE AND BANKING COMMUNITY
2. HIGH SCHOOL COMMUNITY
3. CHURCH COMMUNITY
4. RECREATION COMMUNITY
5. SOCIAL COMMUNITY
6. OUTERMOST FARM HOMES REACHED BY SERVICE
7. TOWNSHIP LINES

FIGURE 34

Hypothetical Illustration of the Method of Locating the Natural Community by Means of Social Areas

Figure 35 shows an adaptation of a survey of Otsego County, New York,[3] with reference to locating community and neighborhood areas. It shows how communities vary in size and shape, on account of the influences of topography, roads, and adjacent trade centers. Township boundaries are cut across by the boundaries of natural communities.

[3] Sanderson and Thompson, *The Social Areas of Otsego County.* Cornell University Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin 422, opposite p. 12.

A SECTION OF OTSEGO COUNTY, N.Y.
0 1 2 4 6 8 10
SCALE - MILES
COMMUNITY AREAS AND NEIGHBORHOODS
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES
LARGER VILLAGE
SMALLER VILLAGE
COMMUNITY BOUNDARY
MORE IMPORTANT NEIGHBORHOODS

FIGURE 35

EXPANSION OF THE FARMERS' COMMUNITY

With the development of improved roads and automobile transportation, distant centers, hitherto inaccessible, have begun to offer services to the farmer. Specialized business agriculture, coupled with higher standards of living, have induced the farmer to seek specialized services such as can only be organized within the larger center. Homes comparable in modernity and equipment to the finer type of city homes are appearing with increasing rapidity in outlying country districts. Thus, the farmer is led to the distant urban center to buy such articles as rugs, electric appliances, furniture sets, tapestries, and musical instruments. Besides, the extension courses in hygiene and rural health have created a demand for the services of the city oculist, surgeon, and medical specialist. No more can the old store at the cross-roads or the village blacksmith shop meet the demands of modern rural life, for few of the old rural neighborhoods are rendering more than two or three services. They have long since passed the major services to the larger, more specialized county seat town or urban center. Naturally, the friendship and acquaintance areas will be smaller in size on account of the limitations of human association, and are, therefore, likely to remain within the neighborhood or town community. Economic service areas of the more highly specialized types will be dozens of miles across.

Kolb [4] has classified these expanded service communities into

1. "The Single Service Type. This is usually an open country or cross-roads stand where there is a single service performed as by a general store, a church or school. . . . These centers were dealt with in the previous investigation referred to as the primary group study.

2. "The Limited Simple Service Type. . . . These centers fall short in the 'Six Service' standard. Their general trade areas are relatively small and the specialized service areas are usually completely lacking.

3. "The Semi-Complete or Intermediate Type. . . . Their average population was 800 with a range of from 400 to a little over 1200. . . . Most of the towns in this class render the six services but are frequently lacking in some essential, as, for example, Cambridge is without its railroad, and Deerfield pays small attention to social and organization activity. The general trade areas of this type of center are relatively large and the amount of business from the farm source is nearly 75 percent of the total.

[4] Kolb, J. H., *Service Relations of Town and Country.* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin No. 58, pp. 5-6.

4. "The Complete and Partially Specialized Type. Their average population was 2750, ranging from 1200 to just a little over 5000. . . . Since the town is larger the farmers take more for granted, they feel no particular responsibility for its success, their attitude becomes less personal and they depend more largely upon their own small clubs and organization for their more intimate and social relationships.

5. "The Urban and Highly Specialized Type. This type, of course, is represented by the urban city center. . . . This type is characterized by highly specialized service agencies. It is to these centers that farmers and their wives come for purchases where quality, variety, and chance for a discriminating selection are determining factors."

The small neighborhood community, which is generally a few miles in diameter, is called a primary group since its association is considered to be of an intimate and face-to-face character. The trade town of from 300-1000 with its service territory is termed a secondary group, since its human relations are not quite so intimate and since its social contacts are more upon the basis of business. The area surrounding the larger place of 1200 to 5000 might be called a tertiary area. Figure 36 with a diagrammatic scheme, based on Kolb's scheme of classification, indicates how the farmers' community has been expanded.

With the automobile and a gravelled road, forty miles can easily be covered. Nobody can as yet predict the size of the airplane community. With the radio in several million farm homes, we can expect the farmer to become a member of our urban society on a scale hitherto undreamed of.

We should note that certain services can be made extensive, while others will remain intensive. The organization of religion, education, and social life must remain within smaller areas by virtue of the fact that efficient religious or social life depends upon the intensity of group life. Cooperation upon these lines depends somewhat upon acquaintanceship, which is always limited by the power of human memory.

THE EVOLUTION OF SERVICE COMMUNITIES AND THEIR PECULIARITIES

Gradually every community town gathers about itself a group of interest-service communities, some extending out seven or eight miles and others extending out only a few miles. In some cases the nearest center is chosen and the community is fairly regular. In other cases religious and social preferences enter in to disturb the symmetry of a community. The variations of the factors of human choice tend to give distinctiveness to the different types of communities.

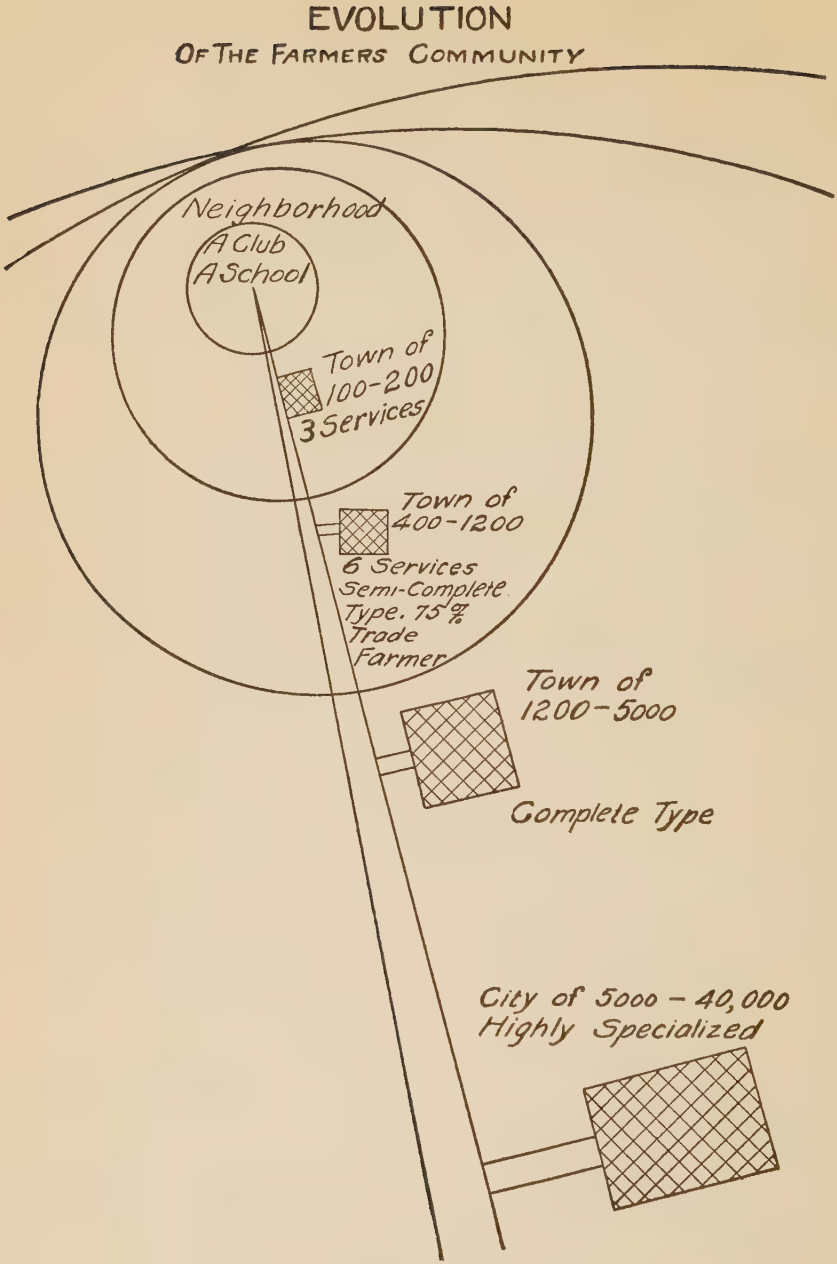


FIGURE 36

Expansion of the Rural Association Area

THE TRADE COMMUNITY

One of the first functions which emerged in the larger area was that of trade. It was only for a comparatively short time that the neighborhood could maintain the cross-roads store with its combination of post office and blacksmith shop. The coming of the railroad "set out" the germ of a rural town in the midst of the open country and its scattered neighborhoods. The farmer soon passed from the self-sufficing stage, where he was his own producer, consumer, banker, manufacturer, doctor, nurse, and machinist, to close dependence upon the special-service town.

Many factors have contributed to form the trade community, which is perhaps the best defined community that Galpin has mapped. First was the shift of the farmers' budget from a few bare necessities, such as salt, sugar, or flour, which took him to a distant market only a few times a year over to the luxuries and incidentals which must be occasionally purchased at the store. With the partial cessation of home butchering and curing, came the small-town butcher and meat shop; with the cessation of spinning and weaving came the "ready-made-clothes shop"; with the development of power machinery and the passing of hand tools came the machinery and hardware store; with the raising of home-furnishing standards to include rugs, tapestries, pianos, and library tables, came the furniture store. Little by little the farmer lost his economic independence to the small town, as he evolved from the unspecialized, primitive state to specialized civilization. Little by little he developed wants that compelled him to enter into many complex trade relations that passed far beyond the powers of the cross-roads store to satisfy. Any time that the farmer will sacrifice these lately acquired wants and lapse into the primitive, he can dispense with these economic relations that tie him to the trade center.

To a certain extent the mail-order business has tended to weaken dependence upon the local trade center. However, since there is a considerable line of perishable goods as well as some that require the eye of the buyer for satisfaction, this type of purchasing will rarely exceed ten percent of the total trade. Thus the Wisconsin Survey [5] of Kolb indicated that 38 percent of the 787 interviewed families bought on the average $58.91 worth of goods from the mail-order houses annually. While mail-order business caused friction between townsman and farmer and in some cases caused a reduction in some lines of merchandise that could be carried, it never seriously menaced the growth of the trade community. It did,

[5] Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 73.

however, in many cases, disturb the community feeling between farmer and townsman and thus contributed to anti-city and anti-rural consciousness. The business man's slogan of "keep your money at home" was met by the farmers' retort that the best way to keep money at home was "in your own pocket." Both assertions contained elements of truth as well as half-truths.

Second among the factors which formed local trade communities was the development of roads and transportation. This tended to transfer trade from the cross-roads to the larger center. Not only was it possible to market goods at the more distant town; it was possible to make frequent trips there for a large number of incidentals and accessory commodities.

Third among the factors contributing to the development of the country trade town was the development of business, profit, and cost-account agriculture, which naturally must rest upon a commercial exchange of farm products for city commodities. In pioneer days a very small percent—not over ten or fifteen—of the farm produce was converted into that universal medium of exchange—money. Today, there is scarcely ten or fifteen percent of the farm produce that remains out of a commercial market. The farmer comes into contact with the economic world and the town market in the sale of his produce. He comes into contact as a consumer with the town and city as he spends this money. With the trade comes banking, and with banking comes the establishment of the banking community. As the farmer uses money to do his business through the check system, he enters commercial farming. Here he pays taxes, meets interest on capital investments and pays for labor. He becomes dependent upon the credit mechanism and so must seek banking relationships.[6]

The farmers' choice of a trade town. In his Wisconsin Survey Kolb[7] noted certain reasons for the choice of a general trade town. Thus 48.7 percent chose on the basis of nearness, 10.2 percent on the basis of better prices, 8.3 percent upon the basis of best service, 8 percent upon the basis of friends or relatives, 6.7 percent upon the basis of having traded there, and 4.2 percent upon the basis of roads. While nearness is the greatest factor in grocery trade, it ranks second in the furniture trade and fourth in the clothing trade. In the case of farm machinery, distance ranks

[6] The extent to which banking follows trade is determined by other than purely commercial considerations. Well-to-do farmers may go to a more distant center—where bank resources are greater—to secure larger mortgage and credit accommodations. The general tendency, however, is for banking to follow trade. The banking and trade communities, as plotted by Galpin in Walworth County, show considerable coincidence. It is easier to bank where you trade, and it is easier to trade where you bank.

[7] Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 43.

third. These special trade communities, which are generally smaller in size, will thus show more irregularity than the general trade community.

Trade as a basis for community life. Will trade always be a fundamental function and cohesive force for the rural community? Can we lay the foundation of our rural community upon the trading village and its trade area? Smith, in his doctrine of the "economic man," supposedly actuated by economic motives, emphasized a force which has dominated, and will continue to dominate, a large area of human action. It has brought about many changes in society and its institutions. In our present state of social and religious development, trade and business furnishes the centripetal force which holds the rural community together. When we talk of the community of Prairie Town, we mean the area that is bound together by trade relations. There are several indications that many trade functions and commercial services will pass from the smaller community.

With the combination of the auto truck and hard-surfaced roads we find many small towns losing trade to the larger centers. Such articles as clothing, furnishings for the home, hardware, implements, musical instruments are not perishable and can be bought in large orders. On this account they can generally be purchased at the large department store, not only more cheaply, but with a wider range of selection. Fifty miles from large Iowa cities we meet "strings" of autos driving in to trade.

Certain types of service units such as grocery stores, farmers' elevators, and livestock shipping associations tend to resist this tendency towards concentration in the larger centers. The basic principle that makes the business community tend to follow transportation and business competition is the fact—as has been considered in more detail in Chapter IX—that people will trade with strangers to secure the exact article at the lesser price. People will not associate, go to church, and join clubs with strangers, but they will deal with them across the counter. Under improved communication this fact will render the social community more stable than the economic community. Communities at some distance from large business centers, and towns more or less isolated by bad roads will tend to retain their economic foundation somewhat longer.

THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

One of the important as well as one of the first service communities to emerge in our rural districts was the school community. At first this function was limited to the neighborhood or "district" school, which was placed within walking distance of the rural home. Manifestly this could

not contain over six or ten sections of land. In pioneer days the "district" school was the neighborhood social center, while the school community fell within the same boundaries.

Although most rural homes are within the reach of some high school, only a few avail themselves of this opportunity. Hence, the high school service areas are generally smaller than trade zones. Also the proportion of homes within the area which utilizes this institution is comparatively small. In Iowa about one out of every four pupils who finish the eighth grade goes to high school.

The choice of a school. Kolb states [8] that the predominating reason for attending this or that town high school was that it was the nearest high school. "In Dane County 53 percent of the farm children travel less than four miles to high school. . . . The distance from the school appears to vary directly with the size of the town and the school."

Community influence of the school. Consolidation of schools is becoming a strong communityizing force in Iowa, since people within its area are taxed in the support of the school. The consolidated school demarcates its community definitely. It is the one institution that has made the social and civil area identical. The school board, also, becomes a body that represents the whole community—town and country. Hence, the school is one institution supported by the entire community. Furthermore, the school is an institution in which the whole community has the strong parent-teacher interest. And so, except where community rivalry and politics have operated too violently, the school community has tended to follow the trade and social community. In some places one community hastens its project of consolidation and extends its school area almost to the town limits of another community, thus annexing a considerable slice of social area belonging to the other community. In other places families outside the social area were included because they would vote for the consolidation project. In still other areas families that belonged to the organic community were left out because they were unfavorable to the project. Such educational "gerrymandering" would of course violate the natural social watersheds.

There is much to be done before the school function is fully communityized. Thus, for example, in Iowa there are over four hundred consolidated districts, which, however, do not comprise one-sixth of our area. In such communities as have consolidated schools, however, we find that this educational institution has greatly hastened the development of the community activity. It has helped not only to dissolve neighborhood

[8] Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 65.

prejudices and provincialism; it has tended also to make people think in community terms. It has been a silent advocate for consolidation of undersized, inefficient areas of administration into more powerful units. It has demonstrated the need of the specialization of service and the community-ization of effort. Although at least 50,000 Iowa children have passed from the one-room school to the consolidated school, there are 11,340 one-room schools left, which comprise five-sixths of the area of the state and take care of over six-sevenths of the children. The use of these consolidated schools as socializing institutions for the community is shown by the fact that over one-half function in some way as community centers. Wherever the community program of the school is strong, its social influence reaches far beyond its tax area.

The community nature of the school is also shown by the fact that it succeeds best in the typical rural community where the farmer and townsman cannot, without each other's help, support an efficient school, and where their contributions to leadership are about "fifty-fifty." The open-country community has too small an administration area to support a standard school with twelve grades, while the city community, that maintains a first-class school, does not need the support of the surrounding country.

Thus, for various reasons, the consolidated school community, with its strong educational and child welfare interest, supplies an ever-powerful bond which forms the basis of a strong social community. Notice how, in many Iowa communities, fine bungalows of retired farmers cluster around the school to form a flourishing social, religious, and educational community.

THE CHURCH COMMUNITY

Irregularity of the rural parish. The church community has shown a large amount of irregularity and illogicality in definition because ordinary social and business relations—as well as considerations of distance—are often minor factors in determining church relations. We trade at the nearest town where there are good markets; we send our children to the neighborhood or community school; we attend our local farm bureau; but on Sunday we go ten miles from our community to seek a church of our denomination, to which we are united by strong religious traditions. In the field of religion, where the ideals of social service and economic expediency have entered slowly, intense individualism still prevails. Individuals consider religion their private affair rather than a community or group affair. On account of this strong individualism, church communities have

erratic and irregular structures which resemble crazy-quilts, and which cut across trade zones, school communities, and banking areas in a fickle and illogical way. It would seem as if religion were a capricious affair without any design to unite a community in solving its moral and religious problems.

For these reasons the maps of church communities show great indentations into the very core of the community, while in other directions they show salients of church influence that jut boldly out into non-community territory. In few cases does the church map of the community resemble the trade map. The present tendency is to unite the church influence with that of the trade, educational, and social community. As churches become community institutions with a large amount of local self-determination, their area will more closely approximate that of other institutions. Such a process seems to be taking place in many localities.

The tardy development of community viewpoint in the church. Powerful was the emotion of those coming to a new land to seek freedom of religious worship. So precious were certain religious traditions that men have been loyal to the religious interest of their denomination rather than to their community. As a result, religion has been slow to evolve into a community affair. This is shown by the small number of existing community and federated churches. True, the auto has taken the farmer into the town church where he could hear better preaching and more skilled singing; and so has caused the decay of thousands of open-country churches in the corn belt. Many of these churches, which once housed flourishing Sunday Schools, are now being sold for granaries and township halls. However, the movement into the village has not consolidated the various neighborhood churches. These generally represented different sects, and as their congregations transferred to the town, they transplanted this sectarian consciousness into the village in the form of a group of competing denominations, which led to "overchurched" conditions. Religious inefficiency has been thus bolstered by traditionalism, superstition, and familism.

The farmers' choice of a church home. The Dane County Survey in Wisconsin[9] indicated that 18.2 percent of farm families chose their church because of denominational preference, that 16.4 percent chose their church because of nearness, and the 16.2 percent selected their church because of previous attendance. In only 5.9 percent of the cases did friends and relatives count, while in only 2.5 percent of the cases did a good pastor act as the "principal drawing card."

[9] Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 65.

THE POST OFFICE COMMUNITY

Such services as rural mail rarely locate a definite social area. The post office which a farmer uses may not be in his trade town because of the fact that routes leading out from one town must be balanced as to miles, and adapted as to road systems. The tendency of routes, in a rough country, to follow creek valleys is quite noticeable. The use of the automobile on the newspaper route tends to push the post office community far beyond the confines of the natural community.

THE NEWSPAPER COMMUNITY

This type of service area will tend to follow the trade and social communities. One of the reasons people take the village paper is to look for markets and trade bargains. Another reason is to read the news that has to do with the local events of the neighborhood. The newspaper zone conforms closely in shape to the trading and banking zones, and shows that more than half the farm families are subscribers to this agency of local acquaintance and information. The competition of the city press is serious. County seat towns run local news columns and so tend to eliminate the small newspapers with a limited subscription list and high overhead expenses. Compared to the rural paper, which too often limits its columns to the trivialities of neighborhood gossip, the big farm papers discuss more frequently the problems of community and farm. Every community of any size will, for publicity and community propaganda, tend to maintain a live-wire press, which reaches every home within the social area—for such a paper can handle personal items better than a paper out of touch with local conditions.

THE COMMERCIAL COMMUNITY

The commercial community is that territory so interested in the commercial and business development of the community that it acts as a nucleus for these services. In some communities that are minus a boosting organization of business men the community does not reach beyond the town limits. In others it extends beyond the town limits. In still others it extends even beyond the social and educational areas. A secretary of a chamber of commerce or of a commercial club, with the right training and attitude on community relations, can often develop many types of association between the business and the agricultural community. Business is realizing its dependence upon the progress of the agricultural area which surrounds it, while agriculture is beginning to see that its success

depends upon business methods. The business farmer, with his office desk and set of cost accounts, is appearing and should be able to work out many commercial problems in common with the business man. Sociability tours, farmer-business-men picnics and banquets, joint meetings, and committees on community welfare will inevitably extend and widen the extent of the business community.

THE NEIGHBOR COMMUNITY

The pioneer community generally constituted a brotherhood or mutual-aid community, where such practices as exchange of work, neighborly nursing, and barn raisings prevailed. Within the larger social area are the smaller neighborhood groups where such mutual-aid institutions as friendly visiting among relatives and "threshing rings" make for a convivial type of association. The automobile has tended to disperse visiting over a wider area where briefer calls prevail. The old two and three day visits, where a large family appeared in a four-seated wagon, have passed into history. For the exchange of work the communal area must be limited both as to the number of homes and the extent of the area.

THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY

Since many of the most important issues and policies grow out of religious, educational, social, and economic conditions, the civil or political community should correspond to these types. The good citizen should vote with the people who are interested in the welfare of the same community. The settlement of road questions, one of the most important township problems, is a minor problem relative to that of education, trade relations, and socialization. Contrast the apathy in township elections with the interest in consolidated school elections. The civil community, except in the field of consolidated school administration, has been arbitrarily fixed according to government survey units such as county, township, and school district. The incorporated municipality is a recognition that a community of complex interests demands a new political area with considerable local self-determination in legislative and administrative matters. The larger the number of interests that bind a people, the more powerful are the political bonds. By a law known as the North Carolina Rural Township Incorporation Law, North Carolina has recognized the relation between the organic, social community and the civil area. This law legally recognizes the social community, as defined by trade, educational, religious, and social relationships, and allows it to incorporate for the conventional governmental

powers as well as for the organization of a wide range of co-operative activities. Most states are proceeding step by step, being content merely to form administrative areas such as school, drainage, water, road, light, health, and forestry districts as need arises, or zone systems for such taxation as is called for by certain functions within a community. This piecemeal process is tardy recognition of the drawing together of social and political community.

THE FARM ORGANIZATION COMMUNITY

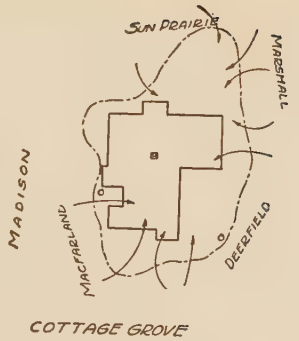
In only a few instances has the farm bureau, farm union, or grange been communityized. They have, for the most part, like the civil township, cut across the natural lines of association. In some consolidated school areas, which represent a fairly organic community, the fragments of two or three township farm bureaus meet. Especially is this the case when the townships corner at the center of the community. As agricultural relations function mainly through the farm organizations, which hitherto have been organized on township lines, this community will show wide divergencies from the trade, educational, and religious communities. In cases where several nominal township organizations have voluntarily "pooled" their memberships, there have been a few quite successful attempts at community farm bureaus. Thus social pressure tends unconsciously to break down artificial lines.

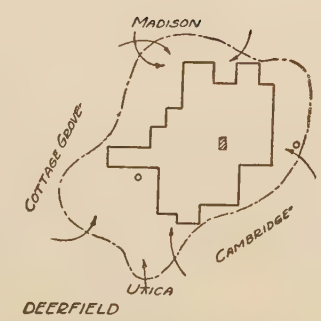
THE LIBRARY COMMUNITY

This service has made its appearance in many towns where communities tax themselves for the maintenance of a branch library in a post-office or bank building. These institutions tend to follow natural community lines, since the farmers who borrow books are generally the ones who either have children in the local school or who trade within the community.

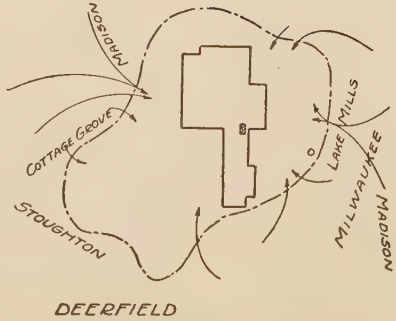
THE RECREATIONAL COMMUNITY

This type of service area has emerged in only a few spots, for recreation tends to be a dispersed affair. In many communities, the only recreation is in the form of home music, reading, barn dances, pool halls, and "movies." The devotees of these different types of recreation disperse over a wide area, and therefore it would be difficult to trace out a map of those who take the bulk of their recreation in the village center. With the development of community centers, parks, and community playgrounds, we shall see the emergence of the recreational community.

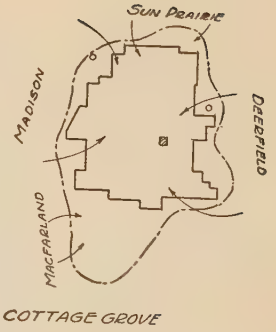


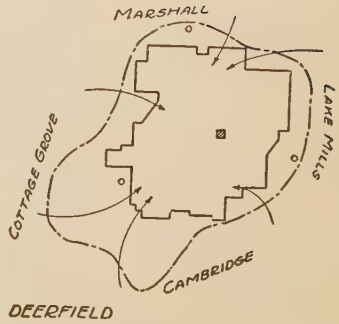


Grocery Communities

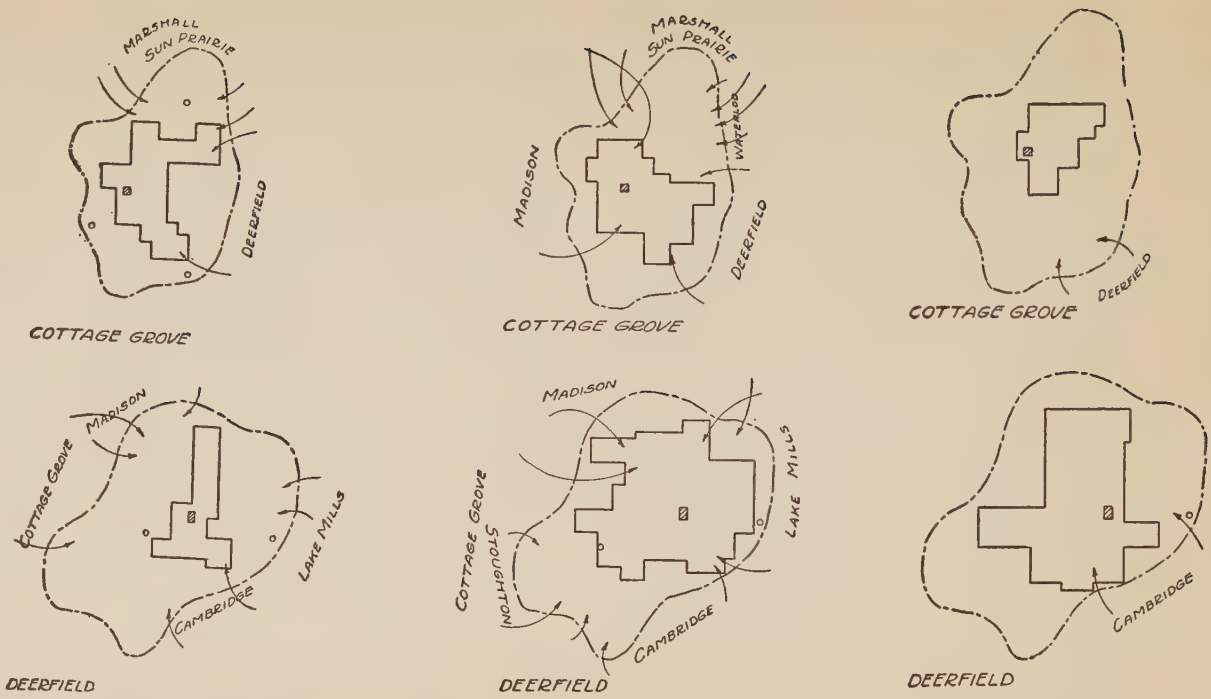


Good Clothes
Communities





General Trade
Communities



Religious Communities

Social Service Communities

Farm Club and Community Organization Areas

FIGURE 37

Varieties of Rural Service Communities in Dane County, Wisconsin

Legend

Community boundaries ———— Maximum service area — - - - - — Encroachments from other towns ⤵

GRAPHIC STUDY OF SERVICE AREAS

The community maps (Fig. 37), taken from the Dane County,[10] Wisconsin, Surveys, indicate resemblances and differences between the various types of service communities. Some are more radial and regular, due to the fact that distance is more of a factor than sentiment or taste. Others are larger than the trade community, and others smaller, depending upon the type of service.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY COMMUNITIES

An interesting and important geographical system of analysis is that of resolving the farmers' community into primary and secondary areas. The larger secondary community has been resolved by Kolb[11] into a group of primary neighborhoods, which are characterized by face-to-face association. This primary group is the first agglomeration of people beyond the family which has social importance and solidarity. Cooley[12] conceives of the primary group as "those characterized by face-to-face association and co-operation."

"They are primary in several senses but properly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual." Kolb[13] realizes "That the rural primary group is essentially a psychological thing. Yet for objective purposes of description and measurement geographic areas and terms will be used. The neighborhood defined by the standardization committee of the American Country Life Association as 'that geographic group of farm families having some local cohesion' seems to come nearest to this requirement, therefore neighborhood and primary group will at times be used synonymously." Here we have an effort to unite psychology and geography by localizing the play of socio-psychic forces within a definite area. Such primary or neighborhood consciousness was manifested by the answer to the question of neighborhood, and by the fact that neighborhood names existed. The more remote and occasional association with some larger town or village on the basis of trade, banking, or education designated the family as a member of a secondary community.

[10] Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 49-73.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
[12] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, p. 23. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.
[13] Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, 51, pp. 6; 43-44.

FACTORS IN THE FORMATION OF PRIMARY GROUPS

Kolb isolated a number of factors and functions which tended to form and maintain these small primary groups. First, topography and differences of soil types seemed to correlate somewhat with certain settlements. The dairy and pasture soil lured in certain nationalities which were kept somewhat in a state of isolation by the barriers of streams and hills. Through this partial isolation, neighborhood or group consciousness was developed. Intermarriage was also common in many of these primary groups. Thus, in one neighborhood,[14] were 37 units of eight interrelated families, while 18.4 percent of the neighborhoods had from 15-18 related families. Second, the economic factor associated with a certain type of agriculture tended to create these neighborhoods when certain racial stocks and migrations were related with them. Professor Hibbard[15] is quoted to show that "The Vermonters were also disposed to own sheep. . . . The Norwegians are the main tobacco growers and have been almost from the beginning." Within the groups were found 86 institutions of an economic character such as stores, shops, cheese factories, and creameries. These served to build up a sort of trade community. In Iowa few neighborhoods can boast of economic institutions of this rank, since these, for the most part, have been taken over by the town. Third, the earlier development of communication and the assimilation of immigrant settlements aided this process. Fourth, nationality and religion played a strong rôle, since many of these groups were settlements of Germans or Scandinavians. Since most religions are of traditional growth and have infusions of provincial customs and beliefs, religion was also closely associated with nationality. The Catholics influenced[16] 40 rural groups, the Lutheran 25, Methodist Episcopal 8, and other denominations from 5 to 8. Groups were often referred to as German Catholics, Norwegian Lutherans, etc. Fifth, a close relationship between neighborhood boundaries and school districts was also evident. Finally, among the miscellaneous factors that tended to weld together primary groups were natural leadership of certain families, hospitality, mutual aid, social institutions, and neighborhood clubs.

Services rendered by primary groups. On the basis of services rendered by these primary groups, it was found by Kolb[17] that 20 out of 60 performed economic functions, 28 out of the 60 educational functions, 35 out of the 60 religious functions, 22 social functions, 13 out of the 60

[14] Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 6; 43-44.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[17] *Ibid.*

farmer organization services, and 4 out of the 60 communication and transportation services. Comparing this with village and city centers, he found that 29 out of 29 rendered economic functions, 19 out of 29 trade services, 29 out of 29 social services, and 23 out of 29 farmer organization services. While only 5 of the primary groups performed 4 services, or about one-twelfth of the total number, there were 23 out of 29 of the secondary groups that rendered 5 services. "Less than 65 percent of these smaller groups performed two or more necessary services." It is Kolb's conviction that a group which renders less than five services is unstable, and should merge itself with others of like nature to form the secondary community. For farmer organizations, for efficient schools, for vital churches, and for social welfare agencies, it would seem that the secondary area would be a better basis for organization in most cases than the primary. Of our 11,340 one-room schools in Iowa, the greater majority serve rural neighborhoods. Thus a large proportion of Iowa rural neighborhoods render the educational service. Many times these school houses are the meeting place for such organizations as the farm bureau or farm union, and in this way farm organization service is rendered. Few of our neighborhoods render religious service, since few open-country churches remain active. If we judge on the basis of modern-day standards, the Iowa neighborhood is too small to render efficient services in the educational or farm organizational way. There is scarcely a neighborhood organization but has a dearth of leaders and talent. In many cases the removal of a few families means the decay of an organization, which later must be reorganized. Most farm bureaus, churches, schools, and social centers that are organized on a community basis are today in a thriving condition. The improvements of roads and transportation will tend to remove most of the enumerated services to the larger secondary community. Traditional ways of organizing functions and services will always retard the speed of the expansion process, but economic and social considerations will eventually force the issue. As already noticed, mutual aid, which, for the most part, however, is a matter of unconscious organization, tends to remain in the more immediate primary area. Fraternal societies in the village have in some places taken over a large amount of this neighborly helpfulness. In many sections of the West, it is a frequent occurrence for fraternities to organize a husking bee for a sick neighbor, in the course of which several dozen teams pull into his field in the morning and by nightfall complete the work of corn harvesting. In pioneer days instinctive mutual aid did not have to compete against organized fraternal work.

SHIFTING OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY AREAS

While the community is, today, rapidly becoming the primary area of face-to-face association, the county and state is becoming the secondary area. It is not uncommon to find over one hundred autos parked in some of these smaller villages on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. Every store and street corner is an institution of face-to-face visiting. During the year only a few neighborhood meetings take place. The battle between rival towns for trade has compelled every village to offer such special trade inducements as would lure the farmer into the village.

THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

In the work of Galpin and Kolb, which has made a distinct contribution to rural demography, we have the psychological and sociological approach to community geography. As transportation and communication introduce many complex elements into association, and as they break down such stabilizing factors as nationality, provincialism, localisms, cultural peculiarities, and intermarriage, we shall find it increasingly difficult to attach socialization and associational processes to any geographical area. Furthermore, airplanes and radios will render the task exceedingly difficult. There will still remain, however, many functions which depend upon taxation and administration by people within some definite area. Land and home interests must, to a certain extent, cling to geographical areas, and will be bases of awakening community interest in the welfare of the locality. When it is interpreted in terms of social relationships that are normal and vital, community geography will be a fruitful field of research for the guidance of the community organizer.

IRREGULARITIES IN COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND FORM

Hills, river valleys, bodies of water, and belts of timber still impose sufficient resistance to human travel to exert a decided effect upon the contour of a social area.

The radial community. In a flat country where there is a uniform distance and development between trade centers, we approach Galpin's model or theoretical community form. In Central Iowa we have communities that grew up in a gently rolling region. In a few cases they have been nearly equidistant from competing trade centers. Here we have a radial or somewhat circular type of community, with the trade area radiating out to equal distances from the center. Roads have been quite uniform, although they do not run out radially. However, in a flat

country trade centers are neither equally spaced or developed. Railroad facilities favor one town; another town has the advantage of an early start. Thus a community with a strong trade center on one side will have a lop-sided appearance, owing to the heavy encroachment by the strong center upon its territory.

The rectangular community. In a hilly country gutted by streams, social divides sometimes follow water divides with the result that we have a considerably elongated community of the width of a river valley. This would form a rectangular community with a few excrescences, where creek valleys find their way through notches in the enclosing ranges of hills. This form is quite typical of a rough topography serrated with many more or less parallel watersheds. Road lines, railroads, and mail routes tend to run parallel to these long river valleys. During the winter, when snowdrifts completely fill the hill cuts, communication between valleys is difficult.

The indented community. Lakes and belts of timber often hem in a community on one side, and push its trade areas in the unimpeded direction. Iowa communities are rarely influenced by water or forest barriers as would be the case in more sylvan sections.

WANING INFLUENCE OF TOPOGRAPHY ON COMMUNITY FORM

Maps constructed of communities that are within the influence of natural barriers will show the effect of topography on community boundaries. This influence will recede into the background as the farmer develops stronger social interests beyond his community, and as roads are improved. With airplane transportation the topographical factor will diminish almost to the point of disappearance. Road systems enter in to change the effect of topography. A gravel road or pavement running across a community of dirt roads will tend to lop off a considerable trade area, especially if this road leads to a better-developed market town. During inclement weather, it is easier to travel three miles on hard road than one-half a mile in the mud. Several hard-surfaced roads running through what was once a well-developed community may tend to disintegrate it, unless it can compete with the trade, religious, and educational services of other centers.

INTERSTITIAL AREAS—ZONES OF INDIFFERENCE

Between trade, church, school, farm-bureau, and social communities are vibrating fringes. These constitute a sort of "no-man's" land or battle ground between rival towns. Even within well-defined communitied

areas, there are small groups which do not assimilate into the community life, but seek services in more distant centers. Thus, from year to year, community boundary lines, unless fixed by such legal powers as the consolidated school law, ebb and flow. As a sort of buffer between contesting communities, there are "unchurched," "unhighschooled," and "uncommunityized" areas. Their place of service has not been definitely decided upon. Certain forces and factors tend to create these zones of hesitation.

1. Rented farms change operators—many of them annually—and these operators may either link themselves with different racial groups or affiliate themselves with various religious sects. Since these areas are almost equidistant from several communities, the choice must be upon more arbitrary bases.

2. Automobile transportation tends to place the distance factor in the background.

3. These areas are often omitted from consolidated school districts, church parishes, and social communities.

4. Their land values are not dependent upon the social or economic development of any one town.

5. Certain communities take the lead in developing community centers, consolidated schools, roads, libraries, and "movies." Such communities are bound to make inroads into the "dead" community.

6. Lack of complete assimilation of old neighborhoods.

A consultation of Figure 38 [18] will reveal many interstitial areas between farm-bureau communities.

As institutions organize upon a community basis and competition for constituency becomes keener, these areas will tend to be absorbed and partitioned out. They remain as relics of a past age when small primary groups curbed the social power of the community.

STABILIZATION OF COMMUNITIES—THE ABSORPTION OF SOCIALLY INEFFICIENT AREAS

As soon as the neighborhood was brought into competition with the small town and small city areas, its institutions gradually disintegrated, owing to the migration of its constituency to larger centers. Church membership has increased rapidly during the last ten years in the United States; yet the open-country churches have died by the thousands. So great has been the social and economic suction of the city, that large

[18] Sanderson and Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 30.

numbers of medium-sized villages have shown a decline in population, while many hamlets in the corn belt have disappeared altogether. Many people are questioning, in this day of automobiles and hard-surfaced roads, whether the country community can survive as a social organism.

Figure 38
Interstitial Areas

Ultimately the question must be settled on the basis of efficiency in rendering services, a factor which was discussed in detail in Chapter IX. We have previously observed that such inventions as the radio, the motion picture, the traveling library, the paved roads, and the automobile tend to equalize the social advantages of country and city. It is likely that the urbanward tide will be checked soon as far as residence is concerned.

Out of the readjustment it is likely that a certain type of service-community will appear which will successfully meet modern religious, educational, and social competition. We have noticed in our previous discussions that each type of service requires a certain size of area for its most efficient functioning. Such specialized services as are rendered by furniture, jewelry, and notion stores, or such services as are given by eye-surgeons and clinics will be sought in large areas that include dozens of social communities. But it seems quite feasible for the medium-sized community of 1000 to 2000 population to organize—in most particulars—the religious, social, and educational services. The specialized parts of such service can be cheaply introduced by extension departments, county agents, and community service bureaus. Other services such as family case work and Y. M. C. A. programs will be given a county basis; yet this policy will not give one community much advantage over another.

On account of their tardy development of community spirit and disinclination to cast off neighborhood institutions, some communities have almost been absorbed. The community which is torn by factional, sectarian, or racial dissensions is likely to be partially engulfed by other adjacent communities that put their service upon a community basis.

What can a community do to rally its forces and fix itself as a sociological entity? Thousands of communities are too small to support the more specialized economic services. Certain more or less instinctive efforts have been noted along the line of community stabilization. Many of these have borne fruit.

1. *A consolidated school.* Such a school automatically maps out a taxation and school administration area, and attaches adjacent trade areas to the town. The education of children is always a strong tie to the community, and a strong argument for residence and social affiliation.

2. *An efficient community church.* The community of 1000 can operate a first-class rural church. It can have first-class music, ministers, and teaching equipment.

3. *A community center for farm organizations, clubs, motion pictures, and dramatics.* This tends to make the residential features of the community desirable.

WILL COMMUNITY LIFE SURVIVE THE ORGANIZATION OF SPECIAL INTERESTS?

With the automobile, radio, and airplane, groups that cultivate special interests can be organized over wide areas. Interest association can easily supplant local association. Will the country family with special interest

in art, music, or science remove its association from the community? It is conceivable that a dramatic or debating club would be composed of scattered individuals, recruited from several dozen communities. Is it possible that the future community will be merely a group of contiguous houses whose denizens know nothing of their neighbors, but associate with special groups in distant centers? In discussing these questions let us first note that the breaking down of barriers, which have isolated the rural home, have tended to weaken familism. The home has shifted many of its burdens to the vocational school and the church school. In this age adventurous youth pushes further from the circle of the hearth for the satisfaction of a complex set of interests. And the groups which cultivate these various musical, dramatic, and recreational interests reach into every geographical community and create there what we may term a sociological community, based on the perception of a common set of interests.

In the second place, let us realize that the various surveys dealing with rural social life have opened up a new conception of the rural community in terms not of spatial or geometrical neighborhoods, but of specialized interests. These planes of interest, such as the child interest, the parent interest, the youth interest, the religious interest, the educational interest, the agricultural interest, the community interest, the industrial interest, and the political and social interest, have a set of problems that tend to create sociological or cultural groups within the community.

Finally, let us observe that these sociological communities are not coextensive with the geographical or the economic community. In fact, they can hardly be conceived of in terms of space. The dominant interest in the lives of two neighbors may be educational or religious, but there is no reason why there should be this coincidence. The membership of a musical club or a parent-teachers' association, upon inspection, will be found to be widely scattered over the community area. The bond is not contiguity of locality except as certain problems of a particular church or school are of a local nature; the uniting power is interest in the larger problems of religion or education. With the use of the "auto" and hard-surfaced roads, it is possible to organize, on a county basis, many interest-groups which take rural citizens far beyond the geometric boundaries of a community. Such interests as are cultivated by fraternal societies and chautauquas pass beyond the boundaries of the geographical community. They draw on a number of separate areas to constitute a psychic community. Social interests, unlike the economic, do not cling so closely to

locality. A farmers' elevator association will naturally not extend beyond the distance across which it is profitable to haul grain wagons. A farmers' store will draw its members from within a trade area. A creamery association will tend to limit itself to a geographical community all of which is accessible to a certain creamery. Co-operatives, in order to produce or market produce more efficiently, form a social bond, but the point of emphasis is upon the product rather than upon the man. In a livestock shippers' association the men who produce a large amount of livestock tend to organize.

But we should not proceed to write too hastily an epitaph on community life, for the very ease with which the country dweller can avail himself of specialized interests is likely to make him content with the rural residential area. Furthermore, there are certain sociological tasks which must be performed locally if the community is to maintain its social values. The radio church service does not build local religious work; and children must be trained locally by face-to-face drilling in classrooms. At the same time certain activities can be most successfully organized in groups that have personal connections.

Finally, dramatics, community singing, community athletics, and community plays are most valuable where a long acquaintance reveals the real humor or significance of the situation. Many of us have often been unable, when in a strange community, to appreciate fully the humor in many situations, clearly apparent to most community citizens.

There can be little doubt that we shall not only have a readjustment of community life, but that we will see emerge a new type of social alignment. The "sociological commonwealth" has made its début.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Why do city people speak of their occupation and social class, and rural people of their neighborhood? Show why rural persons become more attached to home and locality than city people. Why are country people more loyal to their neighborhood than urban dwellers?
2. Show why geography has a peculiar power over rural life. Compare the mobility and visibility of the farmer's wealth to that of the city business man.
3. What is a natural community? In what way does your natural community differ from civil divisions such as townships and incorpor-

ated towns? What forces determine a natural community? Show how we locate the social community as a more or less overlapping series of social service areas.

4. Compare the community which enclosed most of the economic and social relations of the pioneer grandfathers with that which encloses the economic and social relations of their grandsons. Classify towns and cities on the basis of the service which they render to the surrounding trade territory. What influences have expanded the farmers' community?
5. Show how a trade community develops. A banking community. A church community. A school community. A recreational community. What are some peculiarities of a church community? Account for them.
6. What influences tend to shift service communities and change their form? Show the effect of a range of hills, a river valley, a well-developed trade center to the north, a gravel road, etc., upon the shape of the community.
7. What is meant by primary and secondary communities? Why did we hear little about the secondary community in pioneer days?
8. What causes an interstitial area or "no-man's" land between two communities? Will good transportation widen or narrow this zone of indifference? What is meant by "unchurched areas"?
9. To what extent are small communities likely to become absorbed by larger communities? In determining whether a small community should be maintained, what should be our criterion?
10. Will the combination of gravelled roads and automobiles seriously undermine the development of local community work?

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CHAPTER XV

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS—UTILIZATION OF TALENT

TALENT UTILIZATION AND THE CONSERVATION OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY

Conditions in modern society are conspiring to defeat Man's personality and paralyze his ego. So cruel and relentless is this assault upon personal prestige, so numerous are the chances of financial, educational, and social failure, that most men at forty have suffered many defeats. The youth full of the self-confidence that comes from innocent idealism, often becomes the middle-aged man of broken spirit and drooping morale. What are the factors peculiar to modern society which defeat the ego and create the inferiority complex? In the first place, we live in an era of specialization and machine production, where man is an infinitesimal part of an impersonal, inhuman mechanism. Human nature is bent, distorted, repressed to fit the demands of "soul-killing" industry. Even agriculture, itself, previously exempt from such charges, is losing its primitive, handicraft character. In the second place, financial defeat is easy in a society where the purchasing power of the dollar fluctuates, where values ebb and flow, where large numbers of small entrepreneurs "run" on a treacherous margin of profit and loss, and where inventions are "scrapping" old industries with amazing rapidity. Witness the large number of bankruptcies among farmers and small business men following the World War. A little over one-half of our young men will attain the age of sixty-five. Of these survivors barely seven will be financially independent. In the third place, the old forms of vigorous, self-made recreation have been supplanted to such an extent by commercialized amusements and professionalized athletics that most people are passive spectators, inanely milling from place to place awaiting to be amused, while our youth, if deprived of dancing or "movies," are miserable. In the fourth place, the dazzling brilliance of the great orator or the grand opera singer can be projected into the smallest rural hamlet in the land to throw local talent "into the shade." In the fifth place, the accumulated knowledge in laboratories and libraries now towers so far above the absorptive possibilities of the mental life-time of the average person

that many are discouraged with the results of ten years' study and education. With such a combination of "ego-deflating" forces, the modern man is hard put to it to save his personality.

Many are the devices of moderns to save their personal prestige. They resort to crime to break into the headlines; enter popularity contests; seek official positions where the giving of orders saves their ego; dress lavishly; espouse a religion of bigotry and self-worship; move to a large city; seek a conspicuous position in the choir; and accumulate large land holdings. How many times do we offend the person struggling for his ego by not recognizing him by his official title? The community leader who manages to propitiate twelve prestige-seekers by creating opportunities for them to appear before the public is a diplomat.

But, in spite of the numerous devices for "saving the ego," society is full of what psychologists term "introverts" or people who, beaten by the conflict with every-day reality, retreat into the world of illusion, melodrama, dissipation, and day-dreaming. Year by year, thousands are succumbing either to the inferiority complex or to a dismal cynicism which may bring them eventually to pauperism or even suicide. Society must create institutions and controls which will give, not only the deflated personality a new hold on life and reality, but a new appreciation of the self.

No agency holds out more promise in the saving of the personality than full, free expression of latent talent and the development of a versatile, avocational life. It has been pointed out before that radios, magazines, and books expand the demand for music, lectures, and other types of psychic utility, and that local audiences will listen to home-talent programs, not because of their high artistic worth, but because of their personal interest. Thus there is a strong potential demand for amateur musicals, theatricals, and debates, which, if set into motion by the proper machinery, will help solve the problem of conserving human personality. Talent utilization, then, becomes a prime task of the social engineer.

UTILIZATION OF TALENT IS, THUS, A PRIMARY MOTIVE IN THE RURAL PROGRAM

Certain programs are staged in the rural community to commemorate national holidays, promote certain movements, and carry out the plans of organizations. Talent along the line of singing, speaking, and acting is incidentally called in as a means to an end. The program must have numbers and extent. The audience must be pleased, and the organization boosted in appeal and popularity. The motive of developing and utilizing

the talent-power of the community enters only as a secondary motive. Yet, from the standpoint of the development of not only individual personality but community self-expression, this becomes one of the greatest goals of social organization—namely, a community organized to mobilize and express its talent efficiently. The popular notion that a large number of community institutions of national prestige denotes a high level of socialization, often makes us oblivious to the fact that there may be little field for the full expression of its talent through these institutions. The migration of talent needed for the reconstruction of community life and its rapid socialization is almost proportional to the lack of local avenues for its free expression and recognition. Ward, in his *Applied Sociology,* makes this one of the measures of social evolution. The conscious organization of the community to express adequately its higher interest and functions in an intensive way, is a work of socialization. A program devised for the sake of aiding talents to make their public début is not in the same ethical category as the dumping of bricks in the front yard so that boys may have exercise. The exercise of this muscular power has no economic value, except indirectly. On the other hand, the exercise of talent creates a large number of social contacts, which add directly to the social value of the community.

THE DEPENDENCE OF COMMUNITIES UPON IMPORTED TALENT

The majority of rural communities depend almost wholly on outside talent for lecture work, preaching, and the organization of club work. In the case of music and drama they are not so dependent. Yet, to a surprising degree, social contacts come through commercial tent shows, carnival companies, circuses, lyceums, imported lectures, extension talks, and paid ministers. This tends to put much of the community leadership and talent on the side lines as mere passive spectators. Such a system, when carried to the extreme, tends to paralyze local initiative and inventiveness. Instead of home made music and fun, we have the commercialized brand which is designed to catch nickels rather than build characters. Naturally, it requires less organization and planning to arrange for outside commercial organizations to take charge of programs. But when the farmer can develop his own electricity from the wind which blows over his own farm or the water that flows through it, he is likely to operate many more motors and lights than when he has to pay for electricity generated in distant centers at the rate of "15¢ per kilowatt" Similarly, the community which depends upon imported leadership and talent for

its "social-contact electricity" is likely to be "out of it" three-fourths of the time. At best it will get a very intermittent supply. This leadership and talent not only fails to adapt itself to the local situation, but is often unable to remain on the ground to follow up its first advantages. Thus one good local Sunday School superintendent or boy scout leader may be worth several itinerant organizers. In many cases the latter rouse the community to a high pitch of excitement and enthusiasm and induce it to attempt a top-heavy program far beyond its talent resources, with the result that it suffers a relapse into the slough of indifference. These migratory leaders are paid a handsome sum for their work, while the workers, who follow up their program and meet the reaction, must donate their services. We are still in the stage of the traveling propagandist, who, because he is always changing audiences, needs only a few simple, "taking" propositions or a well-learned oration. Thousands of communities have been denuded of funds needed for local development by exploitive, itinerant propagandists. Some of these organizers represent worthy systems, help communities find themselves, and set their leaders into motion; but they have hitherto been in the minority.

It is also quite patent that the talent for the varied contacts which the community needs will be too expensive if imported in large quantities. The professional may be imported as a pace setter for local actors or musicians. In the end, however, the community must rely upon its local talent-power for three-fourths of its contacts.

In many communities from three-fourths to four-fifths of the social contacts in the form of lectures, sermons, dramatics come through professional, paid talent. Such a community often feels that it cannot afford a full supply of social contacts.

Practical experience demonstrates that the community which is organized to utilize its own talent will generally pay for more outside talent. Thus chautauquas, extension lectures, exhibits, and child welfare projects succeed best in the community which has developed its talent, cultural appreciation, and leadership. The effort to develop home talent will convince the community of the rôle which professional performers have in stimulating their local amateurs to the highest attainment. It should be understood that we are not arguing for the displacement of outside artists by home amateurs. Our plea is that professional performances should be supplemented and followed up by home talent. More and more such organizations as the chautauqua, one of the greatest socializing and culturizing forces which has served the rural community, are spending part of their energy in developing local talent. To supply the average

rural community with a full social contact ration will require, in addition to the full force of local talent, more outside talent than is now available.

THE NEGLECT OF THE AMATEUR

Most programs are constructed without planning and in a hasty way. Under these conditions it is much easier to call upon the older, more professional talent. The program is, then, more likely to go off "without a hitch," since the more seasoned talent is prepared for the emergency. In this way a great deal of the younger and undeveloped talent is allowed to rust out from inactivity.

TALENT RESOURCES OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Nothing but a thoroughgoing talent survey will reveal the latent talent of a rural community. A small part of the talent which puts itself forward is evident at first sight, but only a careful investigation of the records of churches, schools, lodges, and clubs will bring to light the hidden talent. Talent, like a mineral, exists in a crude state, more or less encased in impurities. Its real nature will only be revealed as it is polished by exposure to public groups.

The community mind, in taking an inventory of its resources, naturally sizes up its number of hogs, acres, and buildings. A nation thinks of its mines, factories, lands, and railways. The mind of the farmer runs easily in the field of physical valuation.

A study of five Western Iowa[1] communities revealed the existence of a considerable mine of talent well assorted.

The first table on page 325 reveals the amount of talent and its type. The second table indicates the extent of its utilization.

A study of the tables reveals the fact that the small community uses its talent to a larger degree. Generally, talent is not listed until it has participated at least in one program. A proportionately greater amount of talent was listed in the smaller communities. Since the talent standards in the larger community are more exacting, there is a greater tendency to use professionals instead of amateurs. In the city community, however, rural talent was utilized to a smaller degree. Sometimes, even, a rigid embargo seemed to be imposed against it. There is little doubt that the city community hides more of its talent under a bushel, since the "high lights of art" are more dazzling.

[1] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities,* Chap. VII, pp. 6-14. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

COMMUNITY TALENT INVENTORY

Nature of Talent	Number of Talented Individuals in Each Community					
	Community No. 1	Community No. 2	Community No. 3	Community No. 4	Community No. 5	Community No. 6
Music						
Violin	9	6	...	2	7	2
Piano	42	10	...	10	6	10
Wind Instruments	60	70	...	12	16	20
Singing	58	75	...	10	60	50
Dramatic	30	30	...	24	60	40
Debating and Public Speaking	25	16	...	30	24	10
TOTAL	224	207	...	88	173	132

DEGREE OF UTILIZATION [2] OF COMMUNITY TALENT THROUGH LOCAL PROGRAMS

Nature of Talent	Number of Appearances in Community No. 5	Number of Appearances in Community No. 6
String Instruments	140	145
Piano	600	100
Band Instruments	192	420
Dramatic	300	60
Public Speaking	314	80
Declamatory	18	18
Total Number of Talent Appearances	1564	823
Number of Talented Individuals	173	132
Average Number of Appearances or Index of Utilization	9.	6.2

With the assistance of research students, the writer studied talent utilization among city and rural school children in Boone and Story Counties, Iowa.

The first purpose of this investigation was to determine the annual talent-utilization events in the life of Iowa high school boys and girls. The subjects were divided into three groups; one of 48 city children, one of 44 town children and one of 87 country children. The following table gives the results:

[2] *Op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 6-12.

COMPARISON OF CITY, TOWN, AND COUNTRY CHILDREN WITH REFERENCE TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR UTILIZATION OF TALENT

Type of Talent	Average Number of Annual Talent-Utilization Events		
	City High School Children	Town High School Children	Country High School Children
Speaking, oratory, declamation, etc.	6.0	5.5	4.0
Music	16.0	23.9	9.7
Drama	13.0	1.4	2.4
Authorship, literary work, etc.	6.2	2.1	2.1
Leadership	7.8	5.6	2.9
Business, money-making, thrift, etc.	8.8	.7	6.6
Construction and craftsmanship	4.3	8.0	10.6
Collecting	1.8	1.2	.8
Athletics	85.1	47.1	51.8
All types. Total	149.0	95.5	90.9

It is quite evident that the city school is as yet giving more opportunity for the utilization of talent than the country school. Yet, the difference is diminishing. From the standpoint of industrial activities which introduce the boy to the business of his father and the girl to the home making tasks of her mother, the rural child has a distinct advantage. Thus, the country child registered 552.9 annual events such as driving a tractor, cooking a meal, or planting a potato patch. The city child recorded but 342 events of this industrial type. Naturally, we should expect this condition since the city family is not an economic unit.

A calculation was also made of the extent to which the talents and abilities of country children were repressed or expressed. It was found that approximately two out of every three abilities received some expression, while one out of every three talents was rusting out for lack of any expression at all. Thus, we should have a repression factor of about .33. There can be little doubt that as the child grows into adulthood and takes on the responsibilities of marriage and business this repression factor will rapidly increase. Especially is this true in an age of commercialized entertainment.

More talent exists than the community realizes. Even the small community,[3] which may appear dead to the casual observer, has great resources of untapped talent. Before such will appear, however, an adequate market in the way of a medium of social recognition must be

[3] See *The National Influence of a Single Farm Community.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 984, pp. 37-42.

created. Co-operation and organization for effective marketing is as logical a word in the social field as the economic field. Just as effective and sustained marketing enormously stimulates production, just so does the social recognition of special ability by special interest groups hasten the emergence of talent. This is shown in the case of Community 5, where there was a large number of groups with special interests.

The table dealing with talent turnover indicates that there is inefficiency in the utilization of talent. Talent "turnover" is sluggish. The appearance of the talented individual from 5.4 to 9 times per year is scarcely sufficient to maintain interest and skill. The stimulus to home practice on the part of talent wanes as the degree of utilization declines. In this respect there seems to be considerable variation between communities.

There is an immense field for social engineering in planning interest groups to liberate suppressed talent. Through such talent markets many gifted young people would be retained in their communities, while fewer will "fall into the toils" of the juvenile court, home talent programs, home talent chautauquas, and home talent plays are very potent in drawing out hidden ability. People can be trained in attentive listening and enthusiastic appreciation for various forms of home talent. The country newspaper can advertise, and so help "drum up" considerable "trade."

The rural communities of today have not been depleted to the point where they are void of talent. Talent inventories of Iowa communities would uncover literally thousands of gifted people, who have ability to sing, speak, and act to the pleasure of others and to their own enjoyment. Not all of these would make professionals, but many of them would develop into efficient amateurs.

BARRIERS TO THE FREE UTILIZATION OF TALENT

One obstacle to the free development and expansion of talent is the resort to ritualistic procedure and stereotyped programs. Many rural communities are organized by prescription, with ready-made plans worked out in central offices, ready-made constitutions, and ready-made rituals. After memorizing the ritualistic procedure and discovering the first novelty of the social institution, the individual makes little further effort at creative work. The stereotyped, standardized program presents little opportunity for the utilization of new forms of talent. Talent is fitted into the formula; formulæ are not fitted to the talent. Over half of the organization activities in many rural communities are of this formal type, where a certain "rigmarole" of songs, responses, and readings is hurried

through. It is easy for human nature to "get into a rut," and then to follow a prescribed line of action. Rituals are often the mainstays of organization reverence and "we feeling." With their collective and social emblems, with their impressive and beautiful drills, their ceremonies have a place in every community and every individual's life; but they must be balanced with a line of effort that calls for originality and creativeness, and that seeks to provide a range of work that will draft all types of talent into action.

In every rural locality and in every rural town, there is jealousy arising from the strong familism, sectarianism, and egotism of local leaders. Thus the talented person belonging to another organization or family is apt to be pushed into the background. The more capable the individual, the more likely he is to inspire envy. Where wholesome community spirit has been developed, much of this petty egotism is at least submerged by the appeal, "Why is not James Brown called on?" There is no answer but that he is likely to overtop somebody who has personal ambitions. To overcome these trivialities and selfish motives, there must be a vigorous demand for the social recognition of talents.

In many communities, where roads are poor and "autos" are few, there is a tendency to utilize the easily accessible talent. Remote residence in the country makes it difficult for many adolescents to drill for town programs. Town children or country children who live near town are handier for the program committee. The choral leader or the dramatic coach insists upon regularity in reporting for practice. Since children who attend the consolidated school must generally report to the bus soon after the dismissal of school, they have little time for practice in school entertainments. In this way hundreds of rural children in outlying districts lose all chance for the development of their talents and capacities.

The organization of the community by institutions, rather than by functions, erects a barrier against free expression of community talent. In the former plan of organization the focus of attention is upon the maintenance of the institution, while the use of talent is incidental. The standardized, prescribed program of the organization must go forward, even if it stunts the talents and struggling interests of its members. Man has ever been sacrificed for ecclesiastical and social mechanisms first set up as means to an end, and then becoming ends in themselves. Communities which are using their energy in turning the wheels of duplicating organizations that claim their factional loyalty, are full of starving personalities and withering talent. An Iowa community, which boasted of over twenty organizations, was bankrupt as far as lecture courses, debates,

community "sings," boy scouting, play days, clean "movies," and library facilities were concerned. When communities think first of developing talents and functions along religious, recreational, musical, dramatic, and speaking lines, rather than organizing superfluous institutions—which are often custom houses to gather dues for national organizations—we shall usher in a new era of community sociology. In running the committee machinery and auditing the finances of 20 organizations, the community forgets that it has 100 talented individuals longing for a chance to express themselves to 1000 "socially starved" people. Social efficiency demands that the community organize for the utilization of its talent under specialized leaders.

Many communities are ignorant of the talent existing within their boundaries. Most of them have never thought about actually organizing and building social machinery for its utilization. In this modern age we do things by organizing for it; in rural communities things are accomplished by directing organization power upon them.

THE DEMAND FOR LOCAL TALENT

The demand for well-planned performances is always in excess of the supply. Upwards of three-fourths of the social contacts of a socially-efficient community must come through home talent and local events. Good cantatas, pageants, plays, drills, folk dances, debates, and concerts are rarely lacking in ardent support from people of the home community when they are put on by local folk. Every community interviewed in Western Iowa by the writer bore testimony of this fact. "Why do we not have more of these local talent events?" "I enjoy them better than listening to mediocre talent from the outside." Such statements were commonly heard.

Local talent is never held to professional standards. First, it is generally given free or at a small cost. Whatever money is received is generally spent to improve something in the community. Second, many of the listeners have "been there" themselves, and understand what appreciation means to the budding amateur. There is a sort of give-and-take between the home people and the home talent. No outside speaker gets a heart response comparable to that which the "local-bred" youth receives on the occasion of his first address. The personal interest of relatives and friends compensates for the lack of artistic finish.

It is well known that the home talent play rarely registers a success outside of its own community where the participants are not personally

known. Outside of their own locality they are judged upon a commercial and professional basis. Within the talent circuit the performance is regarded as a compliment from another community in which their own talent is soon to appear.

A large part of this talent consists of school children, and it is well known how anxious fathers and mothers are to see their Johnny or Mary make début before the public. Thus, with the local talent, we have many factors which help "sell" it in quantities far beyond what the commercial market would carry. Pride in children, interest in relatives and friends, and pride in locality all give an impetus to the development of home talent. Thus the impresario of home talent is working with many powerful desires.

The amount of money which the rural community spends for imported talent, commercial road shows, commercial motion pictures, and commercial chautauquas indicates the natural demand for such contacts. The development of home talent is not likely to reduce the utilization of the better class of professional traveling talent. This will be imported to set standards and encourage local talent. Communities which have musical, debating, and dramatic organizations are usually good supporters of outside talent agencies of the higher grade, since the development of home talent cultivates the standards of appreciation in the community.

MOST PROGRAMS ARE WEAK FROM LACK OF TRAINED TALENT

It is the talent in the way of singing, acting, and speaking that "puts over" the programs of the women's club, the church, the farm bureau, and the commercial club. Without a development of home talent the programs of every organization suffer. A corps of classified talent, trained under specialized leaders, enormously raises the efficiency and power of the social contacts which different organizations provide. Organizations, especially those with a small membership, have too few specialized leaders and too cumbersome a program to give much attention to the development of community talent. Thus they are at all times handicapped for want of talent which could make their programs interesting and successful. But within the community of a thousand there is sure to be a goodly number of talent of all varieties; and there is also a group of leaders that would enjoy the training and supervision of such talent.

More people are training for musical careers than can be sold to the commercial public. Many women musicians are, through marriage, residents of small communities where they would enjoy an outlet for their

talents. More students are taking work in public speaking and dramatics than can be sold commercially at a sufficient price to give them a living. One expert speaker and singer can now reach ten thousand people as easily as he could formerly reach a hundred. Opera singers have hitherto been limited to the number of people that could get within range of their physical voices. Now, millions can see Barrymore or hear Galli-Curci. Through the phonograph, radio, and film, the individual can magnify himself through countless miles to countless thousands. It thus becomes more and more difficult for the mediocre actor or singer to function upon the commercial basis. Yet society must develop the individuality and personality of its people by giving their talents a chance to develop. The only way to meet this problem is by allowing these people to make their living at other vocations, and then devote their leisure hours to their talent. Music and speaking will, thus, be looked upon, not as money making arts, but as avenues of expression for the perfection of the emotional and intellectual side of the personality, as well as the saving of the "ego."

Both secondary schools and colleges are placing emphasis upon expression through the arts as a fundamental part of the educational process. Less and less emphasis is being placed upon the acquisition of a certain stipulated quantity of formal information and assorted facts. The school is a personality-developing agency and not an intellectual "filling-station." Personality may be stimulated by passive listening to lectures and music, but it does not grow until the individual becomes an active participant in some activity. Singing is more than an art. It is a means of promoting "we feeling." People are socialized at increased speed through the use of their talents, whether it be musical, dramatic, or oratorical. People do not pray after they become religious, but become religious while they are praying; people do not sing after they have become musical, but become musical personalities by participation in song.

THE SMALL PERCENTAGE OF TRAINED, PREPARED, AND USABLE TALENT

There is much potential iron within the earth, but only a small percent is accessible from the surface; there is much potential phosphorus in the soil, but only a small percent is available in any given year. Talent, to be available, must be prepared and trained some time in advance. On this account our organization program should include a talent inventory, an advance announcement of the year's programs, and the early preparation of existing talent. The eleventh hour program, hastily instituted, calls upon the small segment of trained talent which can be relied upon to make

good with little practice. With a group of leaders and "talent developers" picked from the entire community without reference to organization affiliations, a start is made towards converting much of this potential talent into a usable form.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Is the use of talent a means to an end or an end in itself? What does Ward say about the conservation of human ability and the utilization of potential talent? (See his *Applied Sociology.*)
2. To what extent do the communities you have observed depend upon imported talent? Local talent of a semi-professional character? Why? Should we place a complete embargo on extra-community talent? Is there a danger in too much "localism" in artistic standards?
3. What conditions in the rural community contribute to the neglect of the amateur?
4. About what proportion of a community's population have talent sufficient for furnishing entertainment to themselves and to their neighbors, if this talent were developed? What proportion of a rural population have talent of commercial or professional value? Which type of talent is most plentiful? Why? Should we develop dramatic and athletic talent rather than debating talent, because the former is easier to finance? What is the logic of a community chest for talent development?
5. What is meant by a talent inventory? A talent-utilization index?
6. What are some barriers to the free utilization of talent? Account for the small percent of available and usable talent at any particular time. Show how a lack of talent reduces the socializing efficiency of every program in the community.
7. Show how the paralysis of ordinary talent by the radio, phonograph, and motion picture tends towards the "introvert" mind on the part of young America. Relate talent utilization programs to the encouragement of the "extrovert" mind.

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CHAPTER XVI

DEVELOPMENT OF AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIALIZATION WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

THE FUNCTION OF THE INSTITUTION

Social institutions are so many mechanisms for transmitting the cultural elements of the past to new generations. In brief, they are the agencies of social heredity, through which flow customs, traditions, beliefs, philosophies, and ideals. Without such institutions of culture-heredity as the church, the press, the school, and the library, it is doubtful if modern man would rise far above the primitive man. For, according to many, the man of today is biologically the cave man with all his deep, irrational tendencies towards superstition, polygamy, and vengeance; only this modern man is covered with a thin veneer of civilization. In every way the savage behavior of mobs bears evidence of the immediacy of the primitive. Through our agencies for effectively handing down the great wealth of past knowledge, we have surrounded the "primitive man" of modern times with the complex and delicate machinery of twentieth century civilization—a thing to which he adjusts himself with difficulty, but without which he cannot be a civilized being. The height to which a civilization can rise is, then, dependent upon the efficiency of its institutions.

In primitive societies our institutions for transmitting culture were relatively simple and direct. Through such agencies as festivals, rituals, and initiation ceremonies, the youth was made to understand the moral codes, taboos, traditions, and gods of the tribe. Through the ordeal of initiation ceremonies the neophyte was impressively adjusted to the life of the tribe, while through the tutelage of priests and elders, he realized the social significance of the mystic symbolism of the ritual. Contrast this beautiful simplicity with the complexity and intricacy of our modern system of lecture platform, colleges, research libraries, extension departments, and study clubs. Certainly society has marvelously advanced in the building of complicated but powerful socializing agencies.

In each community we have a battery of institutions which begin to work upon the "aboriginal" child soon after he is born. Little by little,

they build upon the "nature"-self a delicately co-ordinated superstructure of civilized behaviors. Through the parents, the play-group, the school, the church, the books, and the motion picture, the child is given standards, attitudes, and social habits which fit him to play the game of life and to meet the competition of modern society. The following illustration will, perhaps, aid us in visualizing this concept of social institutions.

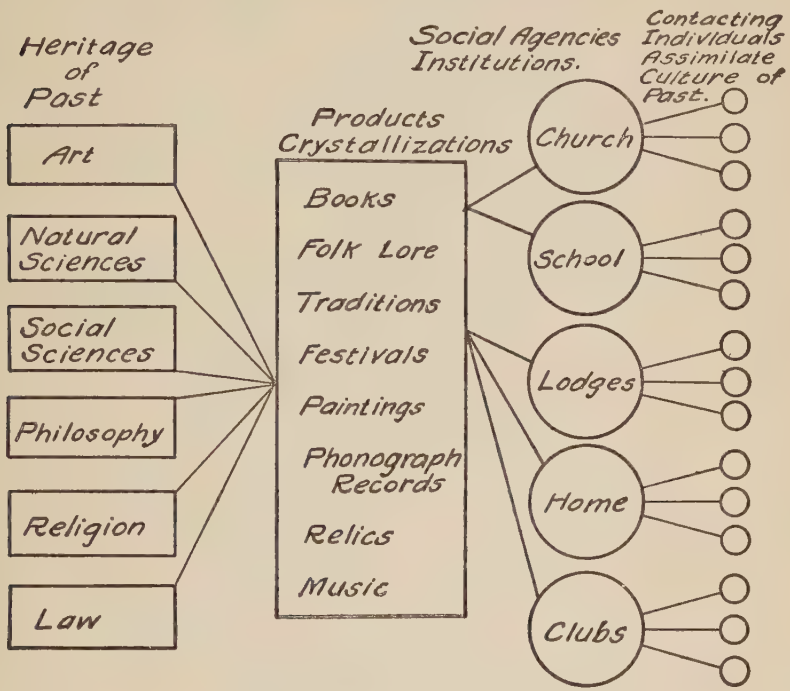


FIGURE 39
The Culture-Transmission Mechanism

To a large extent institutions and organizations control the number and types of social contact which flow into a community. Just as molten lead is dependent for its final shape upon its mold, social energy is dependent upon institutions for its concrete forms and expressions. Organizations may act as good or poor conductors of socialization. Prestige in one instance facilitates its transmission, and in the other impedes it. There are certain specific ways by which an organization can function in the social life of a community.

1. Institutions represent the expression of the group mind imbued

by past traditions but adjusting itself to modern ideals. Thus the church stands for the community's concept of religion; thus the parent-teachers' association represents the community's viewpoint of the school child.

2. Through the institution, interests are organized, expressed, and given a perpetuity which reaches far beyond the vagaries and uncertainties of individual lives. The constitution, program, and ritual of the institution often decide—because of individual indifference and powerlessness against group traditions—the specific way in which this interest is expressed. If a community association takes up "movies" and swimming pools for its program, its work will be advertised with the "movie" and "swimming hole" trademark. If the church opposes cards or "movies," all loyal members make these types of recreation taboo. Thus an organization exercises almost autocratic power in selecting and continuing the concrete expression of community interests.

3. An organization has great selective power over human impression and expression. What type of social contacts will come into the community? What will the minds of its individuals be exposed to? What emotions and instincts shall be expressed by the people of the community? Will there be opportunity for the display of speaking or dramatic talent? To a large extent the traditions, ideals, and program-concepts of the organization will determine this. It is these various organizations that call people together under certain conditions; it is these organizations that import lectures, musical numbers, plays, and demonstrations into the community.

Ritual, tradition, and custom may so dominate the organizations that most of the deeper interests and instincts of its constituency will be repressed rather than cultivated. Through the prestige gained by hoary age a loyalty to institutional traditions arises which may subjugate the socialization needs of the modern individual.

4. Organization standards and ideals represent powerful control forces over the conduct and activity of the individuals, since they supposedly stand for collective sentiment and mind. The gang represents a miniature government and empire to the boy; his ethics, his idea of right and wrong, his religion conforms to it; he lives in continual fear of evoking its displeasure. When the Church or Farm Bureau lines up for world peace or against immigration, a large majority of its unthinking members accept the position of their organization as their stand. Through organization the small, thinking, ambitious minority whips the majority into line. Thus we control religious people through the Church and Sunday School;

thus we control the boy through his gang; thus we control the college student through the ideals of his fraternity.

5. Individuals tend to adapt their psychic life and their cultural habits to fit their organization. Only recently have people begun to see that organizations should adapt themselves to human needs. "While in Rome, do as Romans do," comes to mean, "While in church or lodge, do as church or lodge people do." Each community has its habits and peculiar attitudes, the key to which can often be found in its reaction to its organizational life. Behavior is institutionalized to give a man his church-self, his home-self, his club-self, and his lodge-self. Our behavior is a composite of institutional behavior, and, through the ideals of the organization, the person is motivated and assimilated into his environment. Because of this power to institutionalize the individual, organizations can often outlast their period of efficiency and blindly go forward with programs adapted to a past age. In this way the development of enlarged programs which might greatly increase the social-contact yield is interfered with, while many communities are marking time with old, antiquated, obsolete types of programs.

GENESIS OF THE TYPICAL INSTITUTIONS OF RURAL AMERICA

Certain rural institutions, like certain types of tribal culture or religion, are indigenous to the locality and sprout up from the provincial soil with their own particular eccentricity and uniqueness. Other cases exist where communities, through some inventive leader, have instituted such novelties as play days, community pageants, record exchanges, baby shows, plowing contests, and other activities that do not fit the standardized order of things.

Most of the rural institutions have been planted by national movements, some of them political, some propagandist, some educational, and some sectarian. Some of these great national movements, with sufficient political significance to pass laws, elect congressmen, and set up co-operative stores, have passed into history. But the locals still linger, taking on certain local-service functions that entitle them to existence. Thus rural communities have been the "stamping ground" for hundreds of religious reforms, sectarian movements, denominational bodies, political revolutions, and national organizations with an ambitious world program. Under such conditions it is no marvel that most rural communities have more organizations than they can efficiently carry with their available resources in leadership and talent.

We have passed through an era of prescribed organization handed down from the top by rule-of-thumb, prescribed methods. This uncontrolled introduction of organizations has led to a mushroom multiplication of institutions, and a duplication of functions. The development of "locals" by "sent-in," "high-pressure" organizers, who could "sell" more churches or clubs to a community than it could possibly need, has gone on in various ways.

1. The migration of religious sects from Europe, during an age of oppression and persecution. With the various racial traditions in Europe, it has been a relatively easy task to organize and cultivate sectarianism in European communities; and we, presenting a free country and an asylum for refugees, have inherited the various splits and religious dissensions of 1300 years of European history, and have beheld our communities divided by sectarian spirit.

2. The era of national farm propagandist and quasi-political organizations. Soon after the Civil War such organizations as the Grange appeared on the horizon, not only to organize the protest of the farmer against low prices for farm products, but to consolidate and unify his educational, economic, and social program. Kelly and his salesmen organized thousands of locals within a comparatively short period.

Other national movements such as the "Wheel," the "Farmers' Alliance," the "American Society of Equity," the "Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union," and the "Farm Bureau" occupied at different times the center of the stage, some of them attaining upwards of a million members and planting out thousands of locals.

3. The propagating of fraternal societies. Many lodges with paid or voluntary organizers have pushed their institutions into thousands of rural communities. In the case of insurance fraternities the fees of new initiates helped to reduce the insurance rate, since a rapidly growing society could insure cheaply. During the last half of the 18th century and the early part of the 20th century, the fraternal movement swept the country. Here was an organization that taught and practiced everyday religion without a troublesome set of creeds and theological dogmas. And so, in every small community, such lodges as the Odd Fellows, the Masons, the Yeomen, the Woodmen, the Rebekahs, and the Knights of Pythias, made their appearance.

4. The work of college extension departments. A long list of local organizations have been fostered by the organizers in government and college extension departments. Boys' and girls' corn, canning, pig, calf, and garment clubs have been organized in country districts until they

number into the thousands. Many counties have several dozen of these clubs. Farmers' shipping associations, dairy-test associations, pure-bred-sire associations, have been set out in rural communities to facilitate the work of demonstration and extension.

5. Miscellaneous organizations with a national program such as the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the Community Service, Incorporated, Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls, and others of like character, have also been active in organizing rural communities.

THE PROMISCUOUS PLANTING OUT OF RURAL ORGANIZATIONS RESULTED IN INSTITUTIONAL CHAOS AND SOCIAL INEFFICIENCY

It is by no means strange that the development of a large number of community social agencies by the "traveling-salesman" method would mean duplication, overlapping of programs, and over-organization. The "sky was the limit" and the community was "sold" as many organizations as it had leaders or coteries pursuing personal ambitions. It was of no moment to the traveling organizer that the community already had more organizations that it could adequately finance and man; here was a chance to pad his list of locals and collect more commissions. Nearly always could he find some jealous leader or disgruntled group ready to promote a new organization.

Every community has a certain organizational capacity or institutional carry-power, depending upon the number of leaders, population, and talent which it possesses. Thus it is uneconomical for the average community of under 1000 persons to carry more than one church or one farmers' organization. In every case a careful analysis could determine the maximum organizational load which any given community should undertake, paying due attention, of course, to the type of service or activity which is being organized. Whatever may be the type of organization, it generally requires a certain minimum of such machinery as officials, committees, and business sessions. Twenty organizations will demand 50 to 150 people serving on committees, working as presidents or secretaries, or leading musical, social, and dramatic work; and since few communities of 1000 people can find effective leadership for so much organization, they are apt to neglect many vital activities.

A large proportion of the rural communities with trade areas of from 300 to 700 population—which the writer has had occasion to observe—possessed from 15 to 25 organizations. One trade town in Iowa was the seat for thirty organizations.

But, in spite of all this imposing array of institutional red tape, some of the most vital musical, dramatic, and educational activities were sadly neglected. It is in the over-organized community that we find underpaid ministers, unused talent, factional strife, degenerate tent shows, indecent motion picture films, and gangs of town loafers. Too many times the social efficiency of the community is inversely proportional to the number of organizations.

Realizing how this haphazard setting out of rural organizations has hampered the social development of community co-operation and social-contact production, the organizer of today should not make the mistake of thinking that his task is to add more institutions to the overloaded community. Rather should he seek to accomplish the social program with half the amount of organizational machinery.

TYPICAL RURAL SOCIAL AGENCIES—THEIR NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION

Some states have made surveys of their rural social institutions on a wide scale. Many have conducted investigations of the social institutions in selected communities. Although, for the most part, a standard set of institutions has been installed in the typical American rural community, there are still numerous instances where races and religious sects have set up institutions quite different from the usual collection, and deeply colored by peculiar traditions. Thus settlements of Germans, Hollanders, Danes, Negroes, Poles, and Japanese develop churches, recreational and social activities in keeping with their racial psychology and customs.

The study of rural social agencies in Ohio, conducted by Lively. presents an interesting study of the number, type, and distribution of country organizations as is shown on page 341. It is quite evident that the older, well-established organizations such as church, school, lodge, and farm will preponderate.

In many cases the dominant community organizations are those which have invaded the field first, built up a prestige, and established a program of activities. There are, in every community, a group of services, educational, recreational, and social, which some organization can build prestige upon and so secure a firm footing. In some communities the church rises to dominance through the ability of some minister of community vision who extends and diversifies the ministry of his church. In other communities the Grange, Farm Bureau, or Women's Civic Association is blessed with superior leadership and seizes the opportunity to organize the major interests of community life. So, to a large degree, the determina-

SOCIAL AGENCIES IN 1272 OHIO RURAL COMMUNITIES[1]

Agency	Percent of 1272 communities having such agency	Total number of such in state
Churches	..	6332
Schools	..	8446
Grange	69	878
Lodges	55	2233
Pool Halls	42	955
Annual Chautauqua and Lyceum	33	627
Open Societies	26	...
Moving Picture Theater	23	312
Band	22	282
Orchestra	19	250
Public Dance Hall	19	383
Local Newspaper	16	238
Girls' Scout Troop and	..	...
Campfire Girls	13	138
Boy Scout Troop	12	163
Annual Homecoming	10	124
Parent-Teachers' Association	9	145
Local Library	7	102
Farmers' Club or Community Club	7	94
Community Houses	..	22
Chorus or Singing Society	6	83
Community Fair	5	75

tion of the leading community organizations is a matter of accident, priority of opportunity, and local generalship.

TYPICAL RURAL ORGANIZATIONS—THEIR CHARACTER AND SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

Intensive studies of the agencies of rural socialization have never been conducted. Such a work will no doubt be accomplished in the next decade. We have listed and classified the institutions which contribute to the socialization of country life, but we have never thoroughly analyzed the factors which control their social efficiency. Only here and there can we find facts which are somewhat indicative of maladjustments of rural organizations to community life. So any characterization or evaluation of these agencies will, under the present status of sociological research, be incomplete.

The lodge or fraternal society. We might say that next to the church the lodge is one of the mainstays of the cultural and social life of the rural community. In Ohio we noted that 55 percent, or 2233 of the communities,[2] had lodges, and that in numbers they were only outranked

[1] Lively, C. E., *Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio.* Ohio State University, Extension Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, p. 46, also pp. 4-46.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

by the school and church. In six Western Iowa communities [3] the lodges not only contributed 26,000 annual social contacts, but were the means of bringing hundreds of farmers into better social relations with their neighbors. In this same area the lodge contributed on the average 16.9 social contacts to the tenant, 7.7 to land-owning farmers, 18 to retired farmers, 33.9 to professional men, and 3 to laborers. Through the fraternal atmosphere of the lodge, large numbers of farmers and business men are given a more tolerant viewpoint towards each other, while many such newcomers as the tenant are made to feel at home in the strange community.

There are many ways in which the lodge exerts a strong appeal and builds up an enduring prestige. In the first place, pioneer and primitive life has always been so closely linked with the mystical and ritualistic that anything with an elaborate and impressive ceremony would register a strong influence not only on the "nature" man but on the "nature" farmer. In the second place, the lodge represents a practical, everyday, applied form of Christianity, that without pretense or boasting renders service to suffering fellow beings. The lodge ritual beautifully sums up the religious sentiments of brotherly love. The philosophy of mutual aid and human brotherhood, as enunciated by such philosophers as St. Paul, Owen, Kropotkin, and others is eloquently developed in lodge teaching. Furthermore, the lodge is an outstanding bulwark of fraternity and neighborliness in the rural community, and presents many fine examples of helping the poor and distressed. The duty to neighbor and fellow man, socially and morally, is given the compelling force of tradition, ritual, and music. Each ceremony is impressively designed to teach metaphorically, figuratively, and literally a lesson of mutual human obligations. While lodges work within their own membership, their spirit and teachings are not clannish, but exert a neutralizing effect upon the natural individualism, factionalism, neighbor suspicion, and antagonistic effort—things which curse many rural communities.

In the third place, modern life, even in the rural community, is tawdry, dull, and prosaic. In the commonplace struggle with taxes, store bills, and mortgages, there is little to satiate the desire for the artistic and mysterious. Now, it is just to this life, starved for the symbolic and elemental, that the lodge ritual with its reflection of the art, traditions, dress, and customs of past civilizations offers a powerful attraction. Man is always child enough to enjoy the dramatization and picturesque

[3] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities,* Chap. VII, pp. 4-12. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

representation of history in tableau, pageant, and song. There are few people that do not at times long for impressive ceremony, costumes, secret symbols, and musical drills. In the beautifully written lodge ritual, the human part of man finds a solace from the grind of everyday commercial life and a deeper interpretation of the desires, dreams, and limitations of mortal existence. He is, so to speak, ushered into another society where he is judged by a new scale of values and related to his fellow citizens in a novel way. Even though defeated in the world of business, he may still play an important rôle in his fraternity.

In the fourth place, the lodge has a strong extra-local program of welfare work that makes a vital appeal to the philanthropic. Features such as insurance, old folks' homes, children's homes, tuberculosis sanitariums, sick aid and maternity aid, provide a powerful stimulus for the growth of lodges.

For these various reasons lodges are showing a steady increase in rural as well as in urban areas; and in a time when there is so much intolerance, bigotry, class hatred, community factionalism, and racial friction, this expansion of fraternal work should be a matter for gratification.

THE SCHOOL

In the past the school was looked upon as a secluded, intellectual "filling station," where knowledge was poured into the brains of children. Only in modern times has there been any effort to conceive of the school as an important agency of socialization, not a place where children are drilled, "parrot-like," in the multiplication tables, but where characters and personalities are formed. More and more will the school be the concern of the sociologist as well as the educational technician. More and more will the school be studied in its adjustment to community life rather than as an institution set apart for formal education.

Snedden[4] states the sociological aspect of education: "Education—in the inclusive sense of the control, the development, and the organization and direction of training and instruction—is one of the gigantic social processes, designed partly to prevent each generation from losing any of the ground gained by previous generations, and partly to assist it to reach higher levels than any previous generation."

The school is in a strategic social position. First, the school with its teaching staff works not with old age, which is "set" in its ideas, but with youth which is open-minded and plastic to the thought of evolving

[4] Snedden, David, *Educational Sociology*, p. 31. The Century Co., 1922.

society. While the minister or farm bureau president often gazes into the faces of the past, the teacher always confronts the future. In every sense the school is a laboratory of ideals, standards, and attitudes. Will our future citizens have sound ideas on immigration, crime, poverty, or social progress? Will they support child labor law, community churches, or World Courts? Will they break away from localism and favor state aid for roads and schools? Will they have a sound philosophy of agricultural co-operation? To a large degree, taking note of the declining influence of the home, the teacher holds the answer, for before her sit twenty "minds in the making."

Second, the school is a mobilization or concentration point for the devices of social heredity, which are to be brought into play upon the plasticity of childhood. Libraries, classroom discussions, laboratories, lecturers, traveling exhibits, not only immerse the child in the culture stream of the ages, but expose him to the most stimulating and inspiring of socializing events. Through the school the youth of the land are in a few years made possessors of the gems of wisdom and knowledge won by ages of "disheartening failure and nerve-consuming" toil.

Third, the school can compel the attention of adaptable minds to the subject matter, experimental projects, and socializing events selected by experts. Church, club, home, may plead, may tempt, and even beg for this attention of youth, and not secure it. But backed by community sentiment and compulsory educational laws, the school is in a strategic position as far as the direction of the educational and socializing activities of the child are concerned.

Fourth, the human material with which the school works is not under the strain of economic effort to obtain a livelihood. Within the period of school life most students can devote their whole energy and time to the task of culturization and socialization. The sacrifice of the older generation makes it possible for the youth to be spared the worries, defeats, and trials which make intellectual concentration difficult. Only in a very few instances do we hear parents talk of "making their children pay for their rearing." Most parents are willing, in the interests of education, almost to absolve the child from economic activities from the time he is born until he reaches his majority or enters his own career, for he will pay for his "raising" when he rears his own family.

Fifth, through the invention of cheap printing and rapid communication, the school can enormously extend its range of influence, so that it is no longer limited to its own little miniature society, but can push out into the world of men and affairs, as the following diagram illustrates.

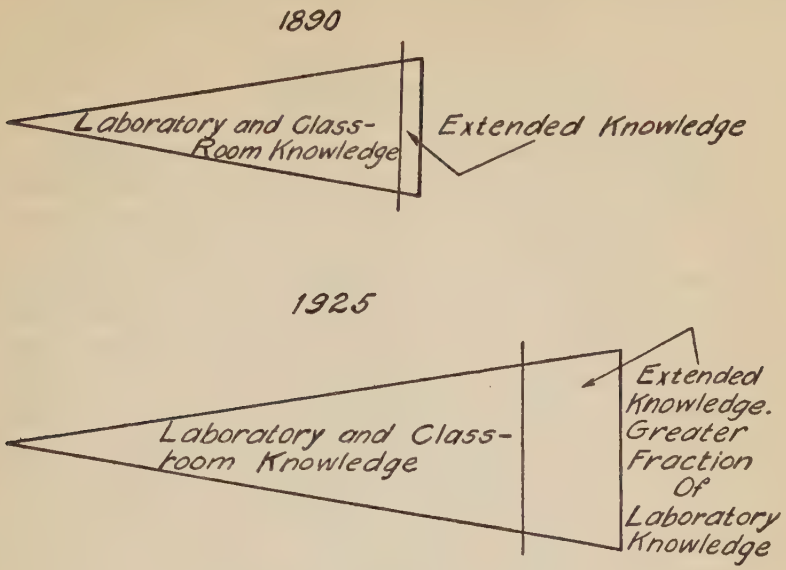


FIGURE 40
Increasing Expansion of Knowledge Beyond School

Sixth, the school can adapt and grade the subject matter of education and socialization to the intelligence and maturity of the group. Churches, clubs, and farm bureaus have to present their specialized material to mixed and unclassified audiences, and so are unable to fit the event to the crowd. But with a carefully sorted age group the teacher can increase in a marked degree the power of the socializing situation.

Seventh, the school can inaugurate, without the necessity of showing their "dollar-and-cents" value, a great variety of competitive and talent-developing activities. In the community people compete mostly on the industrial plane; there, gradation is upon the basis of wealth, income, and possession, while energy is directed to money-making. Within the school, prizes and grades are given for excellence in leadership, music, public speaking, group games, study, and other abilities which are of a non-commercial but cultural type. Thus the school is a power house which generates not only a great number of mental exposures to stimulating situations, but a wide variety of social contacts.

Eighth, the school has a commanding prestige as a community institution. Every faction, every racial group, has an interest in the school because its children are there. Within the school, whose work serves the

whole community and whose board is elected by the community, is a non-sectarian, non-factional atmosphere. Thus the school program is looked upon and attended as a community affair. Thus the wise superintendent can exercise a tremendous influence in developing community spirit and breaking down factionalism. He has at his disposal youth, talent, vigor, excess energy, specialized teacher-leaders, and community interest. Through the agency of the child, his influence and program can daily enter a hundred homes.

The social efficiency of the school. In six Western Iowa communities [5] the school contributed nearly three-fourths of the social contacts, although in our regular computations of social-contact production of communities, the school was not added in.[6] In addition to the social contacts developed in classrooms, there were from 900 to 1500 produced in literary societies, 300 to 1500 created in school dramas, from 200 to 1500 developed in musical programs, from 1000 to 5000 brought forth in schools, lyceums, and "movies," and from 0 to 3500 produced in sewing, canning, and garden clubs. Not only, then, did the school make a heavy social-contact contribution through its curricular work; it also made a substantial gift to the communities' social life through its extra-curricular activities. It should be remembered, however, that these schools were of the consolidated type, which would naturally run much above average in community work.

Miss Deyoe's study [7] of 305 consolidated schools in Iowa as well as

[5] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 4-12.

[6] This was done because school contacts were regarded as more or less compulsory and would tend to be proportional, not to the development of community social efficiency, but to the population of school age.

[7] Social Events in 305 Iowa Consolidated Schools, as given by Deyoe, Marion, *Consolidated Schools as Centers of Rural Community Activities in Iowa*, pp. 71-77. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at Iowa State College Library.)

Type of Event Scheduled at School House	Percent of Schools Scheduling Such Event in the School House
Athletic Contests	91
Declamatory Contests	72
Musical Programs	64
Dramatics, Play, etc.	57
Farm Bureau Programs	56
Community Suppers	50
Lyceums	49
Outside Lectures	36
Parent-Teachers' Meetings	32
Religious Meetings	20
Motion Pictures	18
Community Fair	16
Short Course	15

Hayes' survey [8] of 58 schools in Louisiana shows that consolidated schools are just beginning to live up to their rôle as community social agencies.

The school acts as a "high-pressure" socializing agency which quite materially hastens the process of impression and expression, and thus considerably expands the social-contact income of the individual. This speeding up of the cultural process exerts an influence upon the student which is permanent, as is shown by the fact that community residents who have a high-school or college education receive far more than an average number of social contacts. Thus high-school-educated men in rural communities not only received a higher percentage of A type contacts; they also received about one and one-half times as many. College-educated men received about twice as many social contacts as the average man in the rural community. The power of the socializing environment of such an educational institution as a college is shown by the contrast of the college type of individual within and without the college campus.[9] It is quite apparent that the college student enjoys a social environment which exceeds, in cultural richness, any environment which he is likely to experience later.

It is quite apparent that the speed of socialization attained under the stimulus of school life, is not maintained. In fact there seems to be a considerable slump in the number of social contacts as the individual passes from the school to society, as is shown by the table (page 348), where college alumni in business and in farming fall 1832 social contacts below the level maintained in college.

[8] Events Held During Year at 58 Louisiana Consolidated Schools, as given by Hayes, A. W., *The Community Value of the Consolidated School.* Tulane University, Research Bulletin, No. 2, p. 37.

Events	Number of Events	Total Attendance
Fairs	6	4,100
Boys' and Girls' Clubs	165	5,528
Community Dances	25	4,365
Athletics, Games	230	30,980
Farmers' Organization Meetings	27	1,398
Picnics, Box Suppers, Barbecues and Banquets	32	4,635
Lyceum Courses	26	6,550
School Plays and Entertainments	42	9,785
Citizens' Clubs, School Welfare and Improvement Clubs	19	720
Literary Society	237	14,625
Pageants	1	300
Moving Pictures	26	3,550
Parent-Teachers' Association and Mothers' Clubs	9	135
Sunday School	76	4,536

[9] The following table, taken from the *Study of the Social Efficiency of Rural*

This post-graduate slump in social contacts challenges us with a new problem of social adjustment. How shall we prevent this fall in the socialization level? What agencies shall we create to project the educational process into the years of maturity? How shall we keep our ever increasing proportion of middle-aged people mentally plastic and alert to new truths? Today people live almost a half a century after graduation and have over a million hours of leisure time. Today, in modern industry, habits, customs, and religions change more in 10 years than formerly in 100 years. One of the brakes upon social progress is the large mass of people who are adjusted in their social and intellectual attitudes to 1880 rather than to 1920, and who must work with—if society is to have a working majority—people educated in 1910 and 1920. There is a great task ahead in devising

Iowa Communities, Chapter IX, shows the stimulating effect of the school on socialization.

Events Furnishing the Contacts	Average Number of Social Contacts Among		
	25 College Men at Iowa State College	60 College Women at Iowa State College	20 College Men in Business and on Farms
Attending Classes	585	583.2	9.2
Attending Laboratories	286.2	416.7	.....
Work in Library Reading	249.3	294.7	.....
Studying and Writing in Room	642.6	519.3	112.2
Reading Books in Room	45.3	66.6	.....
Reading Magazines and Newspapers	234	89.1	418
Attending Clubs and Literary Societies	28.6	9.9	20.3
Educational Lectures	47.7	29.7	.....
Conventions, Exhibits and Committee Meetings	76.5	51.75	.....
Music	19.8	41.5	99.5
Art	.....	4.5	.....
Conferences on Studies	36	25.2	.....
Religious Services	95.4	57.6	25.1
Luncheons	24.3	34.2	6.4
Festivals, Dances, Parties, and Picnics	78.3	160.2	.....
Movies and Theaters	68.4	95.4	63.8
Visits	126.9	124.2	52.5
Athletic Games and Contests	98.1	37.8	14
Religious Discussion Groups	6.3	.....	.....
Socials	29.7	15.3	.....
Lodge	.....	.....	25.7
Farmers' Meetings	.....	.....	9
Town Visits	.....	.....	50
Public Sales	.....	.....	21.2
Work as Officials in Business Organizations	.....	.....	19.2
Total Contacts	2778.4	2656.4	946.1

ways and means for the prolongation of the socializing process far beyond the years of formal education. Such a task will be discussed more specifically when we consider the adjustment of the school to its socialization job.

Maladjustments of the school. Although our study has shown that the school is one of the most effective of socializing agencies, there are still some maladjustments which seriously hinder its most powerful functioning.

1. Lack of sociological training upon the part of the teacher. Hundreds of school superintendents, lacking a vision of their community responsibilities, "bottle" themselves up in their office. Thousands of teachers see nothing higher in education than drilling in decimals and conjugations, or occasionally taking an inventory of the facts which have been drummed into youthful brains. Their vision fails to reach beyond the narrow confines of the classroom, with its pedagogical technique. Comparatively few visualize the class as a group of forming personalities, molded by the many and diverse contacts that come not only from the schoolroom but from a complex of social agencies in home, neighborhood, and community. Comparatively few distinguish between knowledge and wisdom, facts and ability to use facts, formal school education and the great education. The adjustment of the individual to society is a most important one; but how many teachers who have never made a scientific study of human society even know what society is? How many school men can make a thorough sociological analysis of the environing social life of their neighborhood and community? The sociological side of the teachers' education has been tragically neglected.

And the school is not only replete with failures and maladjusted children—often intelligent but poorly co-ordinated with their community society—it is also handicapped by numerous maladjustments of the other social agencies of the community. The school man who is a social engineer as well as a pedagogue analyzes his school failures and community situation—working out his program accordingly; while the school man who is merely a classroom technician is a slave to community circumstances, which often seriously undermine his prestige.

2. Lack of an efficient unit of administration. Beside the modern tractor and radio is the old school system of 1890, with its "box-car" buildings, its thirty-five minute classes, its five-month school year, its migratory, girl teachers, its traditional three R's, and its educational inefficiency. Why should the bulwark of free American institutions be so neglected? Why should we have this paradox? To be sure we lack

trained teachers, but their pay is not even up to their training. We lack social viewpoint, but this is being remedied.

At the very heart of the trouble is our small, inadequate unit of administration and taxation. Because of the American's personal liberty and self-determination complex, he fails to see education as the task of society, and thereupon assumes that every locality, rich or poor, must educate its children. It never occurs to him that children do not "stay put," but migrate to cities and other states to invest their educated lives. He does not realize that, like the army or navy, the school is a first line of national defense; not defense against dreadnaughts or gas bombs, but certainly against the more insidious invasion of destructive, social philosophies that undermine democracy. Influenced by this extreme individualism and localism, every community must "sink or swim," educationally, on its own resources, whether that community be a "gumbo swamp" or a "ridge of clay hills." On this account school taxes range from 5 to 175 mills in different rural sections of Iowa, while hundreds of open-country communities send their children to poorly-equipped schools rather than levy confiscatory taxes. On this account the rich community with few children has low taxes while the poor community with many children has high taxes. The bald fact is that large numbers of rural communities cannot afford a first-class, twelfth-grade school with cooking laboratories, libraries, experimental plots, special music teachers, special agricultural teachers, expert kindergarten teachers, gymnasiums, and equipped playgrounds.

Many studies[10] have gathered data which indicate the evils which grow out of our uneconomic unit of educational administration. It is

[10] Rural teachers are unstable in tenure, under-trained, immature, and underpaid.

One-third of our 300,000 rural teachers have had no professional training, while one-half have not completed high school. Fully one-fourth leave the ranks annually to have their ranks filled by new recruits. Hardly one-third remain for more than one year in a place. Something like 150,000 rural teachers have not passed their twenty-first year. In the United States, salaries range from $325 to $900 per year, much less than the wages of unskilled labor. Such are the facts presented by Rural School Leaflet No. 14 of the Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, p. 2.

Surveys of Lampkin in Missouri published by The International Harvester Company on pages 14 to 19 of its bulletin on "Better Schools for Missouri," give interesting data concerning the finance and equipment of the open-country school. Rural Missouri spent $13 for each country child and $40 for each city child. This state invested $125 in buildings and equipment for each city child, as compared with $25 for each rural child. Of the 9,000 country school houses, there were 2,700 with open foundations, 4,500 with the stoves in the center of the room, 8,000 poorly ventilated, 3,000 without window shades, 100 with seats facing the window, 550 with seats too high or too low, 1,000 without toilets, 6,000 with toilets uncleaned, 1,800 without any drinking water, 6,300 with well uncleaned, and 1,600 with well of impure water.

evident that our teaching force and educational equipment is wholly insufficient for the task of adjusting children to twentieth-century society.

And we cannot find an alibi for our inefficient system of organizing education in the bland assertion that the American nation as a whole cannot afford education. In the first place, we are spending vast sums on things far less vital and essential than education. Witness the two billions and over spent for tobacco, the twelve or more billions spent for luxuries, and the several billions spent for crime, poverty, and vice—evils which are materially checked by education. We are wasting more than enough to give a high school education to every American boy and girl. In the second place, education is not a charge against society, but merely a big paying investment for the future. Every dollar invested in the training of a future generation for agriculture, home-making, and industry comes back two or three-fold in increased earning power. What would $20,000 added onto the life earning capacity of 10,000,000 boys mean to the ability of the nation to buy the products that give industries new business? We can afford education, provided we pay for it out of the right pocket. We cannot afford ignorance and inefficiency.

3. Isolation of the school from society. Like other institutions the school is dominated by many traditions which interfere with a ready adaptation of educational programs to new needs. So it often happens that the prevalent system and content of education does not reflect the demands of the existing society. Only in recent times are we making a "job analysis" of the modern farmer, business man, or engineer as a guide for the formation of educational content, and studying the society and industry for which we are training the student. Only recently has the school introduced courses designed to aid the student in choosing vocations intelligently. And still thousands of students are choosing their life work without any reliable knowledge of their fitness for it. Within the past few years we are discerning efforts of the school to study the community life about it and to investigate the current social problems of the day.

Another angle to the isolation situation is the failure of the educational mechanism to maintain the cultural process beyond graduation from school. It has already been observed how the social-contact income of the student soon falls off after he quits his academic career. And certainly nothing is more tragic than the high school or college graduate who "goes to seed" after graduation—his ambitions discarded, his talents decaying, and his hitherto dynamic life degenerating into sordid routine. Lack of congenial companionship, contact with "old fogies," immersion in commercial

life, absence of time to cultivate the intellectual, and a dearth of library facilities soon make it easy to sink into a callous, indifferent, visionless existence. A rapidly advancing science that soon renders education obsolete adds to the downward forces which shrink personality. The school is not, as yet, geared to society in such a way that it can follow up with such agencies as will insure the prolongation of socialized processes, the progress of its graduates from academic shades out into the world and real life.

4. Lack of a program of moral and religious training. The home does not provide the moral training that it once did. The strain of modern commercial life, the numerous outside social activities of the father and mother, and the declining power of the parent over the child has seriously undermined the spiritual and educational prestige of the home. The large number of broken and disintegrated families indicates the weakening of family solidarity and the decline of the family as a sacred institution. At the same time the Church or Sunday School fails vitally to contact with more than a bare one-fifth of the coming generation, and even of this number a large proportion falls out in the "teens." One half-hour with an inexperienced and untrained teacher in a Sunday School class is not likely to guarantee adequate moral direction. Until the family can be adjusted to the stress of modern society, and until the church school can either improve its efficiency or co-ordinate its work with the public school, what shall bridge the gap in the child's moral and religious life?

The public school, which has the child five days a week, thirty-six weeks in the year, would seem to be the logical agency to supply the moral training. Yet, because of the disagreement between sects as to the interpretation of technical points in the Scriptures, and on account of the lack of social and spiritual vision, the school has side-stepped and "pussy-footed," with the result that thousands of boys and girls are running the streets day and night with little regard for law and order. Laws have been passed either requiring or allowing the Bible to be read. The value of such reading is quite problematical. The hurried, unsystematic, sometimes apologetic, reading of this marvelous record of the spiritual and moral struggles of a great race, with no comment or word of explanation, may often create the wrong attitude. The school has a challenging opportunity to provide courses and activities, which give the child an idea of the fundamental principles of moral and Christian living. But it is only slowly and spasmodically making this adaptation to the work of socialization.

The adjustment of the school to the work of socialization. Our

rural school system can be organized for more efficient education and socialization. To accomplish this, certain adjustments seem desirable.

1. In order to secure a teaching force with a vision of socialized education and an appreciation of rural life, courses in rural sociology should be made a required part of the teacher-training curriculum. Through such work the teacher would not look upon the rural community as a stepping stone to a city position, but as a real field of endeavor. By means of her sociological training she could organize groups to study community life scientifically and to vitalize the work in citizenship. She would be more than a classroom pedagogue; she would be a social diagnostician who could fathom each of her students as an individual case needing adjustment to the various socializing agencies which surround the school. Utilizing sociological tests, she would be able to check up from year to year on the character-building ration of her pupils. Furthermore, instead of presenting vague, inaccurate notions about the racial problem, or the immigration question, she could inculcate sound philosophies concerning the major social issues of the day.

Today thousands of teachers are trying to teach the problems of citizenship and community life with little or no preparation in sociology. Frequently the writer has had to answer "hurry-up calls" from teachers who had to teach a course in sociology, and who desired some references or material which would enable them to keep a "jump ahead" of the class. It is only too evident that the teacher who has received her knowledge about rural life through the magazine, the novel, or the "movie" is apt to be "city-minded," and unconsciously educate her pupils away from the country life.

2. There are many suggestions for organizing education on a more effective administrative and financial basis. These may be treated under the following heads:

a. State aid. By means of this system, where the state government bears from one-twentieth to perhaps four-fifths of the expense of maintaining a local grade or high school, the disproportionate burden of education, as between poor and rich communities, is equalized. In other cases, what approaches confiscatory taxes (as high as four or five dollars per acre) is prevented. No lengthy argument or formidable array of figures is needed to show us that there are thousands of sparsely-settled communities in Northern as well as in Southern States, which have too much waste land to support the first-class, twelfth-grade school, to which their children, as American citizens, are entitled.

From the standpoint of its efficiency and excellence as a community

center few oppose the consolidated school. The main objection—increase in taxes—would be removed by a well-organized system of state aid. To use the high local-tax bogy to frighten away efforts to provide good schools for young America is to delude by telling a half-truth.

Some progress has already been made towards putting education on a state basis. Out of the $1,444,241,920 of public-school revenues for the fiscal year ending June, 1922, 15 percent came from state taxes and over three-quarters from local taxes. Only seven states now contribute as much as 30 percent towards their public schools, while 17 states contribute less than 10 percent.

The need of state aid for the consolidated school, which provides six normal school or college graduates out of its staff of 11, which maintains an attendance of 91 percent of the enrollment, which gives a nine-month school year in comparison to the seven-month year of the smaller schools, which provides graded and expert instruction for 204 children, and which transports 110 children at a cost of 3.8 cents per mile per day, is quite evident. With an area of something like 36 square miles and $1,250,000 worth of taxable property, the consolidated school is forced to maintain itself upon higher local taxes. It must raise around $22,450 each year or something like $80 to $84 for each child enrolled.

When will we apportion educational funds upon the basis of the children to be served rather than upon acres or taxable wealth? When will we cease to allow clannishness and selfish, short-sighted provincialism to defeat the "inalienable right" of every American child to an education so necessary in its "pursuit of happiness"? When will this generation give the citizen of tomorrow a square deal?

b. The consolidated school. The exponents of consolidation urge many advantages. First, the school area tends to coincide with the natural community, including the town and its surrounding trade area, rather than with an artificial, arbitrarily-chosen group of sections within a civil township. On this account the school welds the community together, provides a community social center, and promotes better relations between town and country. Second, it secures the advantage of specialized teachers and graded classes for country children, instead of the thirty two-pupil classes taught in the district school. Third, it provides one hour of better training at a lower cost. Fourth, it brings the grades and high school into more vital touch, so that two or three times as many children pass from eighth to ninth grade. Fifth, it secures for the country child, as well as for the city child, the specialized activities under a trained instructor in music, dramatics, speaking, athletics, agriculture, and homemaking. Sixth, it

provides a well-ventilated, well-heated, well-lighted, and well-equipped plant where children can have hot lunches, psychological tests, supervised health work, and regular medical inspection. Seventh, it brings into the community ten or twelve young men and women, many with college educations, who can lead many social, educational, and religious activities, and thus make a contribution to the social-contact income of the community. And they are quite right in maintaining that few of these advantages can be had in the average country school, or even in the one- or two-room standardized school.

As has been noted before, consolidation has been hampered by the antiquated and inadequate system of local land taxation. It has also been retarded by the lack of hard-surfaced roads which would permit the use of motor busses for transport. In spite of these handicaps some states have over 1000 schools of this type, while many others have over 400. All told, there are upwards of 15,000 consolidated schools in the United States. But compared to the 200,000 one-room schools, this is a comparatively small number. Unless some other system of providing an adequate basis of administration is developed, we are likely to see, with the decay of localism and the coming of hard-surfaced roads, a rapid growth of the community school. The motor bus makes possible a larger, more economic-sized school district, and may of itself partly solve the problem of finance.

c. The township and county high school with the standardized one-and-two-room grade school. The advocates of this plan urge several advantages. First, it co-ordinates and unifies the rural school system from kindergarten to twelfth grade without an expensive system of transportation, and so secures at low cost modern educational service for the country child. The child under the eighth or ninth grade can walk to the standard one or two-room school, while the high school child can furnish his own transportation to the township or county high school. Second, by combining several of the smaller school districts, school patrons can finance a one- or two-room school well-equipped and taught by one, two, or three well-trained teachers, and still keep the school close to the farm. Third, the financial resources of a county can provide several exceptional high schools which can develop excellent vocational work. Many of the smaller communities have not the resources to do this in their consolidated school.

Several states are developing systems of this kind. Thus Kentucky has adopted a state-wide standardization plan for more than 7000 one, two, and three-teacher schools. Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and other Middle Western States are developing thousands of standard schools.

It should be realized, however, that this type of school does not fit into

our scheme of community development as does the consolidated school. Certainly it seems reasonable that the group of people who trade, bank, and associate together should be knit into an educational community. Instead of being a factor in splitting natural communities into educational neighborhoods, the school should be a factor in cohering and building community life. With state aid, the cost argument, which the exponents of the standardization plan advance against the consolidated school, would be minimized.

3. For extending the socializing power of our educational machinery into society to prevent the post-graduate slump in social contacts, many devices have been recommended. There are the college extension departments which keep the out-of-school people in touch with new developments in the field of applied science; there are the short courses which give thousands of business men, farmers, and farmers' wives a "new brush" with lectures, textbooks, and laboratories; there are the night schools and continuation schools; there are the part-time factory schools; there are the radio and correspondence courses; and there are the traveling libraries, exhibits, and educational films; and there are the local-study and discussion clubs. Yet these extra-school agencies are not as yet sufficiently developed and co-ordinated, not sufficiently well-organized on a community plan, to reach the ever-increasing mass that needs them. Great stacks of books, enclosing the science and the philosophy of the ages, remain almost untouched in hundreds of our large libraries. The school must devise means of putting this knowledge into such form or organizing such out-of-school study groups as will render possible the fuller utilization and appreciation of our rightful heritage of culture. Every community needs more funds, more leadership, and more well-organized study groups. Every community and school may well take the lead in providing short courses, library facilities, survey projects, debating, and musical activities for their post-graduates. America, rural as well as urban, will eventually sicken of jazz, tinsel amusements, and tawdry melodrama. Its high school and college people, who in ever-increasing numbers return to agricultural and industrial communities, will demand the type of substantial educational service which shall continue their socialization momentum into the mellow years of old age.

4. The school can present a vital moral and religious education without drilling children on creed or splitting theological hairs. Too many, unfortunately, conceive of religious education as a denominationally-minded teacher seated in the center of a circle of pupils, and expounding Methodism or Presbyterianism. And it has been the fear that the teacher

would make Baptists, Adventists, or something else out of the children that has kept religious education out of the schools. But there is a fundamental side to religious education apart from technicalities and dogmas. Character-building is a process subject to psychological and sociological laws, and the dawning of the religious and spiritual life follows certain principles and sequences among all races and sects. Is there a system or method by which children can be given an appreciation of their moral and religious life with its consequent obligations, without involving the school in sectarian disputes? Can we make history, geography, psychology, and sociology contribute a moral education and a deeper appreciation of religious literature?

Let us suppose that the superintendent decides to make his curriculum contribute towards character-building. How will he go about it? Through the agency of psychology he shows how thoughts grow into actions, how actions grow into habits, and how habits form character. In the study of the mind he can discuss the hygiene and control of the emotions, the proper use of the will, the danger of day-dreaming—in brief, the art of wholesome, mental living. And as the class discusses these problems of self-mastery, the parables, the proverbs, and the sermons of the Bible open up in a forceful, real, and dynamic way. For the pupil sees that the people, the leading characters of ancient times fought the same psychological battles as people are fighting today. Through sociology the school child can scientifically study his character-building impressions and expressions; through sociology he can analyze the type of environment and life which forms criminals and paupers; through sociology he can study the origin and development of the religions of the world and their adaptation to the present age, the diseases which destroy civilization, the human maladjustments which make paupers, delinquents, and moral perverts, the scientific methods by which these maladjustments are treated, the control of the disastrous conflicts between nations and races, and the principles which govern the progress of communities, nations, and civilizations. With the "sociological lens" he will see how human society, with its customs, moral standards, and institutions, developed. He will be able to bring the social teachings of the founders of Christianity regarding democracy, neighborliness, poverty, crime, degeneracy, marriage, divorce, child labor, class domination, and other similar problems to bear upon the modern problems of human society. Imagine the effectiveness of the Sunday School period, when the teacher confronts a group of students who have systematically studied life, morality, and society in this interesting manner.

When the teacher is less obsessed with the notion of delivering a cer-

tain specified amount of traditional subject matter which has been labelled "education," and when he visualizes education in the terms of a set of skills, the most important of which is the art of living mentally, socially and morally, we shall see the dawn of personality education.

THE RURAL CHURCH

As has been observed, the church is one of the major social agencies in the rural community. It has its prestige, its problems, its maladjustments, and its program of adjustment. The future of rural life cannot be factored without reckoning with the church.

The function of the church. The church ministers to a very fundamental part of man—his religious being. Primitive man, ignorant and untutored, could not live without a religion. Modern man is realizing that life is unsatisfactory without the development of the spiritual self. In short, the human race out of the very profundity of its deeper experience, would create a religion even though all religious records were destroyed. Death, the continual passage of finite experience into the Infinite, the continual struggle against a brute self, the temptations of a lower nature, the trials, failures, and defeats of life, the ever-widening circle of the Great Unknown, the over-powering vastness of the world beyond microscope and telescope, the perpetual enigma of the Uncertain Future, the Mysterious First Cause that moves behind dividing cell and lightning flash, the immanent presence of the Immortal in the lower recesses of consciousness, and the never-ceasing limitations upon the execution of life's fondest ambitions, are eternal elements of human experience which demand a religious reaction. While the intellectual formulation, the phraseology, and the external garb of religion may change as it absorbs the customs, the attitudes, and the culture of changing society, the fundamental, religion-generating elements in human nature are quite constant. Science but pushes back the frontier of the mysterious, infinite, and unknown. Complex society but increases the number and types of sin and temptation. Expanding intelligence and education but intensify the consciousness of human limitations and the grandeur of Divine Intelligence. Epoch after epoch has man striven to fetter religion with ironclad creeds, rituals, and forms, but ever has it burst all restraints for a victorious renaissance. The church need not worry for fear that modern man in a scientific age will lose his religion; rather should it concern itself as to whether it can readily expand and readapt itself to the spiritual demands of a new age, for men

must worship, pray, and commune with their Creator, not only as individuals, but as societies.

The rural church still occupies an important position in the life of country people. This prestige is due to several factors, inherent in the very life of any community of individuals. First, such events as christenings, marriages, and deaths, demand a deeper and more spiritual attitude than can be engendered by the usual type of social atmosphere. Some agency must be found which dignifies the event and expresses the soul-moving emotions experienced at these occasions. Some agency must translate the community thought into the thought of eternal values, and link the mortal life with the Divine Plan. The church with its pastor solemnizes and interprets the more spiritual and unusual episodes in human life, and so serves one vital need. Second, there must be something which will consecrate and give Divine sanction to the struggles which grow out of the adjustment to family, social, and economic life. The effort to found a business, to own and improve a farm, to rear a family of good citizens, and to fight the evils which undermine home and neighborhood life must be carried beyond the level of economic and ethical values; these worthy ambitions must become one with God's plan. The Dunkers improve their soils and livestock, because to them good farming and good religion are interwoven. The minister whose life is rich and full with human experience can lift the ordinary routine of kitchen and field, so often considered menial and unheroic, into the realm of the religious and eternal. Hundreds of farmers are discontented, not because they are technically unsuccessful at farming, but because they undervalue this type of human experience. By teaching people to assign deeper and more spiritual values to the life of the small-town community, the church can render a vital service. Third, the church is a potent social-control agency; within its spiritual laboratories are created ideals, standards, and visions which may lead to better roads, better health, better recreation, and better home life. The community, with its many maladjusted individuals, becomes the scene of the Kingdom's work. Through the spiritual message of the Bible, the meaning, significance, and power of country life is interpreted to the people. Even among the hard-headed business men and farmers who never attend church, these values are recognized. In many instances, when the church was on the verge of closing its doors, these men have rallied to its support, for they knew only too well that a community without a church would suffer a decline in moral, business, and property values. Finally, the church carries with it the tradition and venerability of ages. As one of the oldest edu-

cational, welfare, and spiritual institutions, it forms a background for an appreciation of the significance of modern philosophy. Some agency must receive the prestige which comes to any institution rendering these various services.

"Man cannot live by bread alone." He has a many-sided personality which must be fed not only spiritually, but intellectually, musically, recreationally, and socially. And so in the past, when human beings were in need of ministration, the church, heeding the admonition of communities where there was a dearth of wholesome recreation, inspiring books, invigorating music, and stimulating society, enlarged its basement or built a social center. For such broad-visioned churches were fully aware that man's life is not partitioned by water-tight compartments, but that his fun, his books, his companions, and his music mix with his religious life to upbuild or destroy it. The minister, trained for community leadership, enriched by the culture of universities, and largely absolved from the cares of business life, has a wonderful opportunity to study, to interpret, and to organize the life of his community. Perhaps this community should have a Boy Scout troop; perhaps that community should have a choral society. In each case he fills the gap by supplying leadership and moral support. Thus, in the typical rural community, the church often acts not only as a spiritual agent, but as a center of community social and cultural life.

The social efficiency of the church. There are few social agencies that touch as many people as does the church. About half of the American people belong to some church. Morse and des Brunner in their survey [11] of 179 counties in the United States found the Protestant membership in this area to be 516,310, or 20 percent of the total town and country population. Not all this membership is active, something over one-fourth remaining on the church books as non-residents or "dead timber." Over 20,000,000 American people are enrolled in the Sunday School, where the attendance averages two-thirds of the enrollment. In such auxiliary church organizations as Ladies' Aids and Young People's Christian Societies are enrolled large proportions of the Church and Sunday School constituency.

It is, then, not to be wondered at that the church contributes heavily to the social-contact income of the rural community. In Chapter VI we noted that the church in six Western Iowa communities produced 155,000 social contacts, ranking second only to the school in the class of stable, well-organized institutions of socialization. During the year most of the

[11] Morse and deS. Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, pp. 57-58. George H. Doran Company, 1925.

churches staged such events as Fathers and Sons' Banquets, Thanksgiving and Christmas exercises, cantatas, church plays, Ladies' Aid socials and bazaars, Sunday School picnics, illustrated lectures, etc., which brought large numbers of people together for wholesome recreation, education, and inspiration. All this was in addition to regular church services. Congregations in the agricultural counties will likely average 45 for 52 Sundays giving 2340 attendances for the average rural church during the year.

Naturally, the social efficiency of the church can be considerably raised, for no human institution works at its capacity. A consideration of the different maladjustments of the church to modern community life will be of material assistance in pointing the way to a more efficient church. Our criticism should be fair, honest, and constructive, for our newspapers, magazines, and books are already full of caustic and destructive criticism, which, shaking the confidence and faith of our youth in one of the basic institutions of human life, presents nothing substantial to minister to the religious nature of our modern young person. Too many of our virulent critics of the church have never had the experience of serving a rural church in the capacity of Sunday School superintendent or pastor, and thus seeing the problem from the inside. Let us realize that true Christianity has not failed and never will; but that man may fail in organizing and applying it. Let us not confuse the vital essence of religion with man's institutionalization of it.

Maladjustments of the church. In its organization in society, religion becomes a social institution which must make its adaptation to the age in which it exists. Like any social institution it is colored by the prevailing modes, customs, conventions, and philosophies of its era. However pure may be a stream at its fountain head, it will eventually absorb many impurities from the soil through which it flows. Just so religion assimilates a great mass of attitudes, viewpoints, provincialisms, forms, psychologies, and sociologies as it passes through ancient, medieval, and modern society. Many have been pessimistic concerning the future of religion and the church because they have developed so many maladjustments. Yet, in a rapidly advancing society, other institutions, such as the school, family life, industry, and government, have been unable to manifest sufficient plasticity to prevent numerous mal-adaptations. In the present age the religion of civilized people is showing a greater power of adaptation than has ever been manifested before.

The maladjustments of the church to our modern life may be treated under the following heads:

1. The use of an obsolete psychology and sociology. Although, in

many quarters, we are witnessing the appearance of a religion whose program is guided by modern psychology and sociology, there are still many places where the social philosophy of the 17th century is dominant.

One of the outstanding impediments to the efficient functioning of the church is the *isolation sociology.* This conceives of the church as a thing too holy to touch corrupt and wicked society, and which holds that religion would be contaminated by too intimate a contact with community life. Thus the life of the community, in its recreation, its agriculture, its civics, and its education, is one thing, while the church and its religion is another thing. Worldliness is contrasted with holiness. The result of this monastic attitude is a failure of the church to "gear" itself to the community, and a cold indifference and apathy to local social problems. The church stays aloof from the community, and the community remains aloof from the church. The church "cold-shoulders" the farm bureau, and the farm bureau is apathetic toward the church. Thus there are many heavily-churched communities with nothing in the way of fun except medicine shows, indecent films, and barn dances, with the result that social life is so torpid and profligate that the ambitious leave and the "rotters" remain.

This segregation policy has caused many such institutions as lodges, settlement houses, community centers, associated charities, and child welfare leagues, to appropriate to themselves much of the prestige which might otherwise have been gained by the church. It has prevented the church from playing the part of the good Samaritan and from ministering to a maladjusted community life.

Now, this isolation sociology was an excellent adaptation to a society that barbarously destroyed art and culture, for without this seclusion the church could not zealously have guarded some of the great intellectual and artistic heritages of civilization. In such periods government and social control were weak, and human relations fickle.

But today, in an age of interlocking industry, and inter-dependent group life the sociology of isolation loses its force. Instead of conserving the fine elements in religion, it allows them to "rust out" through stagnation and disuse. Christianity, as a system of life and social relations, has so permeated the various institutions of community life, that the secular-religious classification is often a barren one. Communication, education, industry, and complex systems of social organization have so welded together the various aspects of community life, that isolation sociology is as much out of place in a rural town as is a double-shovel cultivator in an Iowa cornfield.

A second impediment to church efficiency is its *clan sociology,* which

develops religion on the basis of exalted and fanatical group-egoism. Divine favor is not for the great mass of society, but only for the chosen few. And these few are chosen by a set of dogmatic interpretations of religious writings. God is not a God of humanity, but a Tribal, or Clan God, ministering to the lust of the small group for power and dominance. As a result we have a great deal of religion that, in an age of fraternity, neighborliness, and intimate association, is bigoted, intolerant, and exclusive. Instead of being a force which draws men, organizations, and communities together, the church becomes a force which holds them asunder. It cannot be denied that clan religion had its place in a day when society, lacking effective communication, was organized upon a kinship basis, and when religion had to play the rôle of maintaining the continuity, traditions, culture, and solidarity of the tribe. But we are evolving out of clan society, and are not attracted to a religion that still builds its procedure upon clan sociology.

A third foe to church efficacy is its *autocratic theory* of human relations. Religion, in its organization in human society, has generally been dominated by the castle or aristocratic idea involving ecclesiastical hierarchies, unimpeachable authorities, obsequious members, and a psychology of fear and obedience. History is never wanting in illustrations where the church has been a prop for a ruling aristocracy that has given Divine sanction to the subordination and exploitation of the mass. Under this sociology the ranks and file of the church are not regarded as capable of thinking, acting, or interpreting for themselves. Truth must be handed down to them in small doses from above, and not questioned. Obedience to a Divine Being is construed to mean obsequious obedience to the constituted, ecclesiastical officials. Little place is given for creativeness, originality, or constructive effort. A premium is placed upon blind conformity and submission to the powers that rule. In an age of universal education and democracy, the result of religious autocracy is an antagonistic attitude upon the part of the rank and file, that may either actively affirm the intellectual rights of the laity or may lapse into sullen indifference. The modern American can be led, but he cannot be driven. He will respond to suggestion and advertising, but not to dictation from vestry or pulpit. Church procedure and church government must be democratic to the core. Religious autocracy is a timely adaptation in an age of ignorance and instinctive subordination, but is a maladjustment in an age when kings, nobles, and ruling castes are disappearing. Religion cannot foist itself upon a modern age by high-handed methods; but it can "sell" itself to an age suffering from materialism and commercialism.

A fourth survival of antiquated sociology and psychology is the theory of *individualistic salvation* and personality development, which teaches that a man, apart from his society or community, can "lift himself by his own bootstraps." Now it is true that nothing can save a man who is too lazy to help himself; but it is also true that individuals are largely creatures of heredity and social environment. We do not want to ignore the individual will-factor in life, but the over-emphasis upon individual responsibility may blind us to social obligations. A theory that every individual is to blame for this ignorance, poverty, and crime is only an easy alibi to our social obligation, not only to segregate the germ-plasm which produces defectives, but to provide the social environment under which well-adjusted personalities grow. The over-stressed notion that every youth lives in a social vacuum and is alone responsible for his sin is apt to make church people negligent not only in cleaning up indecent "movies," salacious books, and immoral tent shows, but in providing clean, wholesome amusements. Religion should not underrate the factor of self-reliance, determination, will-power, and self-help, for in the last analysis every individual must use his own will to resist temptation. Neither should it minimize the great importance of improving heredity and the type of social contacts upon which growing personalities feed.

A fifth impediment to more efficient church work is the psychology of *asceticism*. For centuries many church people have conceived of life in narrow and inane terms. The best life was the life which mortified the flesh and repressed the natural instincts. Thus human nature was supposed to be depraved and naturally vicious. The type of social development which made society more complex, more highly organized, was deemed not progress but regress. The Golden Age was to be found in the primitive. In many instances the church, motivated by this ascetic psychology, throws around itself an atmosphere of Puritanic solemnity and rigidity which alienates its younger members. The youth is continally confronted with a wall of "don'ts." He must not play pool, he must not attend "movies," he must not go hunting on Sunday. But nothing is done to provide games, sports, and recreational activities that can express his fun-loving nature. Under such conditions it is not strange that many churches lose their hold upon the "teen-age" boy or girl. True Christianity believes in life not less abundant, but more abundant, not thin and emaciated, but full and well-expressed. The church is not, in any sense, violating the spirit of Christianity when it leads the way to a life full of stimulating activities that minister to the whole nature of man.

2. A sectarian system of organization in a community age. Church

history reveals the factional and sectarian nature of church development. In medieval times differences of opinion upon the mechanics of religion began to develop, and finally a large number of churches appeared, each with its peculiar creed and ritual. Many of these metaphysical technicalities over Scriptural interpretations were not evident to the rank and file, yet they served to found different sects. For a century the persecutions of various sects in Europe drove large numbers of religious zealots to America where they could find religious freedom to worship according to the dictates of their own conscience. And, becoming a haven of persecuted sects, we have had upwards of 370 denominations transplated into our community life. Without these reformations, each of which created new sects, religion would have been hopelessly fettered, and man's religious initiative destroyed.

As a result of the sectarian system, we have many maladjustments of the modern rural church to its community life.

a. Over-churching. This has been an inevitable result of denominational competition in the smaller community and has led to uneconomic-sized churches with a high mortality. In 1272 Ohio communities [12] there were 6146 rural churches. This was an average of over 4 churches to the community. The studies [13] of 179 counties by Morse and deS. Brunner show that there was 1 church for every 463 inhabitants. In many rural towns of 400 to 600 inhabitants, five or eight churches have attempted to secure a foothold. To have an economic basis there should be only 1 church to every 1000 people; more churches than this cause a high church mortality. Ohio studies [14] indicated that a church under 75 members has a small chance for growth. Thus, while 33.9 percent of the churches from 51 to 100 members were growing, 70.8 percent with memberships of 151 showed growth.

In the city, over-churching is not so noticeable, because we have a greater density of population as well as social cliques which do not readily associate in the same type of church.

With over-churching is apt to come petty sectarian competition, proselyting, numerous and burdensome financial drives, and general inefficiency. Dozens of churches are maintained with only a few old families In some instances the church doors open only when old pioneers are brought back to the community for burial. Hundreds of churches are maintained by missionary aid under the urge of warfare against other de-

[12] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
[13] Morse and deS. Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
[14] *Ohio Rural Life Survey.* Southeastern Ohio Presbyterian Church, Department of Church and Country Life, p. 38.

nominations that might take the field. Some of these stagnant churches are in rich communities whose financially-responsible citizens do not care to finance denominational warfare but do desire to promote social and human services to the community.

b. Absentee and long-range ministry. The surveys of Morse and deS. Brunner [15] show that there is 1 minister for every 1.7 churches or 767 people. These studies show also that 16.5 percent of all churches have full-time resident ministers, 19 percent have part-time ministers, and 52.6 percent have non-resident ministers. Their study also indicated that only 43 percent of the village churches had pastors who served one church only.

Ohio surveys [16] show that only six percent of the church parishes had their own minister, while 68 percent shared theirs with two or more others. The resident and "undivided" minister has a great influence upon church efficiency, as is shown by the fact that out of 1515 Ohio churches [17] 60 percent of those with a full-time minister were showing progress. As long as the program of the church is narrowed to preaching, periodic revivals, and perfunctory ritual, the non-resident, absentee circuit system operates fairly satisfactorily. Three places can pay enough to hire a fervent exhorter; but when the program is broadened to include recreational work, community work, organization of Boy Scouts, demonstrations, lecture courses, athletic contests, motion pictures, playground work, and religious-training classes, a resident minister is needed who can study, interpret, and organize the community life.

c. An under-paid and under-trained ministry. Another evil, resulting partially from over-churching and partially from lack of appreciation for intellectual and spiritual services, is a financially-embarrassed ministry. The survey [18] of 5552 churches in 179 counties indicates a ministerial salary of $1400, composed of $1150 cash and the free use of the parsonage. (It should be noted that 55 percent of ministers are provided with parsonages.) The survey also points out [19] that something like one-third of the ministers engages in such other occupations as carrying mail, plastering, plumbing, farming, truckgardening, and similar vocations. The *Literary Digest,*[20] in an article entitled "From Preaching to Plastering," quotes the *Homiletic Review* on ministers' salaries. "Twenty-three percent receive $19.23 weekly, 28 percent receive $28.86, and 24 percent $38.46 weekly." This is

[15] Morse and deS. Brunner, *op. cit.,* p. 23.
[16] Thaden, J. F., *An Analytical and Critical Survey of Rural Social Surveys in the United States,* pp. 107-109. (Unpublished Thesis.)
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 94.
[18] Morse and deS. Brunner, *op. cit.,* p. 43.
[19] *Ibid.,* p. 73.
[20] "From Preaching to Plastering," *Literary Digest,* December 12, 1923.

compared to the steel worker paid $37.81 per week, the hod carrier $30.14, and the bricklayer $55.92. One minister is quoted thus: "'It was principally because I could no longer endure the degrading experience of looking down from my six-hundred dollar pulpit into the faces of the people to whom I was forced to owe money that I left the pulpit.'"

While it is true that the minister is furnished with a far better education than his pay would warrant, his training is in many instances inadequate for the task which he confronts. About two-thirds of our pastors have had either a college education or training in a theological seminary. But among this number there are many who have had little or no education in agriculture, sociology, psychology, recreational engineering, or community leadership. In pioneer days the minister addressed people with a second or third-grade education. Today he needs the most liberal type of education in order to handle intelligently the current problems, economic, educational, social, and religious. The Bible is full of sermons for farmers. The minister in the rural community should understand something about farm crops, soils, insect pests, farm machinery, agricultural economics, and home economics. He should be a practical sociologist and psychologist; he should be well versed in history, especially that which relates to Biblical times. No profession demands such an intensive and comprehensive education.

The adjustment of the rural church to its society. In the process of adjustment, changes should be made in such a gradual, constructive manner that more serious difficulties are not brought about. Ruthlessly to tear down a structure that has been laboriously built through the ages courts disaster.

In adjusting the church several things should be kept in mind. First, it should be remembered that every church has an older constituency which has lost its power of adaptation to new programs. To transform so radically the psychology and sociology of the church, that every vestige of the old is erased, would leave many older members adrift and helpless. So the feelings and needs of the older church membership must always be considered. By gradually introducing the new leaven we can make the transformation without an upheaval of antagonism and conflict. Second, it should be remembered that our machinery of religious education and missionary work has been built up under denominational administration, and that this must not be hampered by any reshaping program without providing an equal amount of effective mechanism.

In adjusting the church for more effective service, several lines of procedure suggest themselves.

1. The church needs a new sociology and psychology which will guide the forces of religion into effective character training and community building, and which will unite the forces of the Kingdom rather than separate them. The sociology of isolation and clannishness, which religion has absorbed from a past society, now constitutes anti-social elements. To the end that religion be socialized, ministers should be well-trained in scientific sociology and psychology, while the coming generation of church members should receive sufficient education in these subjects to give an interpretation of the Bible in terms of democracy, brotherhood, community spirit, and co-operation. The person with anti-social, clannish, and egoistic attitudes seeks to give them Divine sanction by finding support for them in a biased view of the Scriptures. A broad and comprehensive view of human society tends to prevent these narrow prejudices.

2. The basis of religion, as an earthly institution, should be shifted from the metaphysical to the psychological and sociological. The metaphysical disputes concerning the nature of finite and infinite mind, the relation between soul and body, the creation of man, the first cause, the limits of revelation and inspiration, the destination of life in the Hereafter, and the types of incarnation lead to innumerable differences and disputes, most of which are indeterminate. To divide the forces of Christianity in this modern age, which is so full of human maladjustments and grave social problems, over a set of insoluble, abstract theories of medieval metaphysicians, is tragic. How many churchgoers have the training in metaphysics with which to grapple with these unfathomable and incomprehensible problems? Then why make the future church unity hinge on the settlement of such a metaphysical problem as predestination?

Why should not the spiritual power of the church he placed behind the program of the scientific psychology and sociology of today? Psychology has studied the way in which instincts appear, the manner in which habits are formed, the methods by which emotions and will are controlled. It has given us a hygiene of the mind; and we know that a healthy mind is fundamental to Christian living. Sociology has investigated the influence of different types of environment on character formation, the diagnosis and treatment of the maladjustments of individuals, groups, communities, and civilizations. It has pointed the way by which the diseases which destroy society may be controlled, by which a greater and lasting human civilization can be built. Thus sociology and psychology furnish just the devices, just the methodology by which the church with its spiritual power may win in its conflict with individual and social evils. How soon will the old pilot, metaphysics, be replaced by these new helmsmen? The radio,

the automobile, the stereopticon, and other inventions of physical science have been utilized to increase the range and service of the church. Why should the work of the Kingdom not receive the assistance of the devices of the social sciences, and so find unity rather than division?

And the signs of the times all point to this readjustment. Children who, thanks to the public school and the automobile, mingle freely, and who with the help of the modern curriculum come into touch with modern psychology and sociology, are refusing to be classified on a narrow sectarian basis, but are demanding the right to co-operate religiously in doing the work of human society. Social welfare work, Boy Scout work, community center projects, clean-up campaigns are today serving to focus the attention of church people upon the practical side of Christianity.

3. There are several possible adjustments which will effect a consolidation and unification of church effort.

a. Interchurch co-operation, local and national. The Interchurch World Movement, the Council of the Churches of Christ, and similar movements give evidence of the unification of religious work on a nation-wide scope. Missionary fields are assigned to prevent overlapping; parishes are allocated to certain denominations to prevent over-churching; labor is divided in the educational field. And so the Kingdom's work is made efficient through co-operation. Locally, churches are pooling their efforts on such common tasks as daily vacation Bible school, community evangelistic campaigns, summer vesper services, Boy Scout service, and social welfare drives. Through joining hands to promote these common projects, good-will, community spirit, and fellowship are stimulated and sectarianism dissolved. When churches meet each other face to face around the council table, they discover dozens of things they can do more effectively together.

In some instances churches of different denominations have pooled their Sunday School organizations, their ministerial budgets, and their leadership. Through such an arrangement the two ministers divided their work, each one doing the tasks for which he was especially fitted.

There can be no doubt that interchurch co-operation is the first practical step in unifying religious work in thousands of rural communities. To go beyond that would be to stir up religious strife and antagonistic effort.

b. The "communityized" denominational church. Often two or more denominational administrations can agree to give one church the right of way in a particular locality. This trading of parishes means that with a broad-visioned pastor, the single church can serve the various religious ele-

ments in the locality and develop a comprehensive community program. In many cases this type of community church doubles or triples the membership and financial budget, enabling the organization to equip a first-class church plant and hire a well-trained minister. At the same time it has the advantage of the overhead service of a well-organized denomination in directing missionary funds and in providing ministers. The main weakness in this type of church is that an inner clique, representing the denomination, violates the principle of democracy, asserts its sectarian authority, and forces a denominational program upon the other religious groups. Nevertheless, hundreds of churches of this type are appearing; in fact, they are coming faster than community-visioned ministers are being trained.

c. The federated church. In other instances two or more churches may unite their local property holdings, their budget, their Sunday School, and their pastoral service. Since there are as many separate denominational membership rolls as there are federating churches, the joining member does not lose his Baptist or Congregational relations or his right to a church letter. The children may enter this church through as many routes as there are constituent denominations. This church is managed by a joint board, locally, although it may elect to co-operate with some denomination from the standpoint of securing pastors or promoting missionary and educational work.

The federated church prevents over-churching without deranging denominational connections. The Baptist who joins such a church enters according to his Baptist ritual, remains a Baptist, and has his rights respected and safeguarded. Thus the federated church allows the individual to have his own belief on technical and creedal matters which have in the past led to so many dissensions, and requests his co-operation in rendering the services of pastoral ministration, religious training, and community welfare work. The willingness of three or four denominations with different creeds and techniques to tolerate one another that they might have an efficient local church and set an example of brotherly love for the coming generation bodes well for the future of the church. It is just such a spirit of tolerance that generates an invincible religion in a new age.

d. The community church. As the older generation, which has vivid memories of its persecutions and struggles to attain freedom for worship according to its cherished traditions, passes on, the federated church tends to lose its denominational color. A younger generation, which has never experienced the age of sectarianism, will enter the church with few denominational reservations, and thus form the basis of a church which

anybody who will pledge himself to the tasks of the Kingdom, may join irrespective of his private opinions on incarnation or predestination. The children who are now studying the same geography, the same arithmetic, the same sociology, the children who are co-operating on the same playground, will find little difficulty in worshiping the same God and working in the same church for the same fundamental Christianity.

The schematic diagram on page 372 illustrates this principle of achieving church efficiency through the consolidation of three, weak, straggling churches into one strong one.

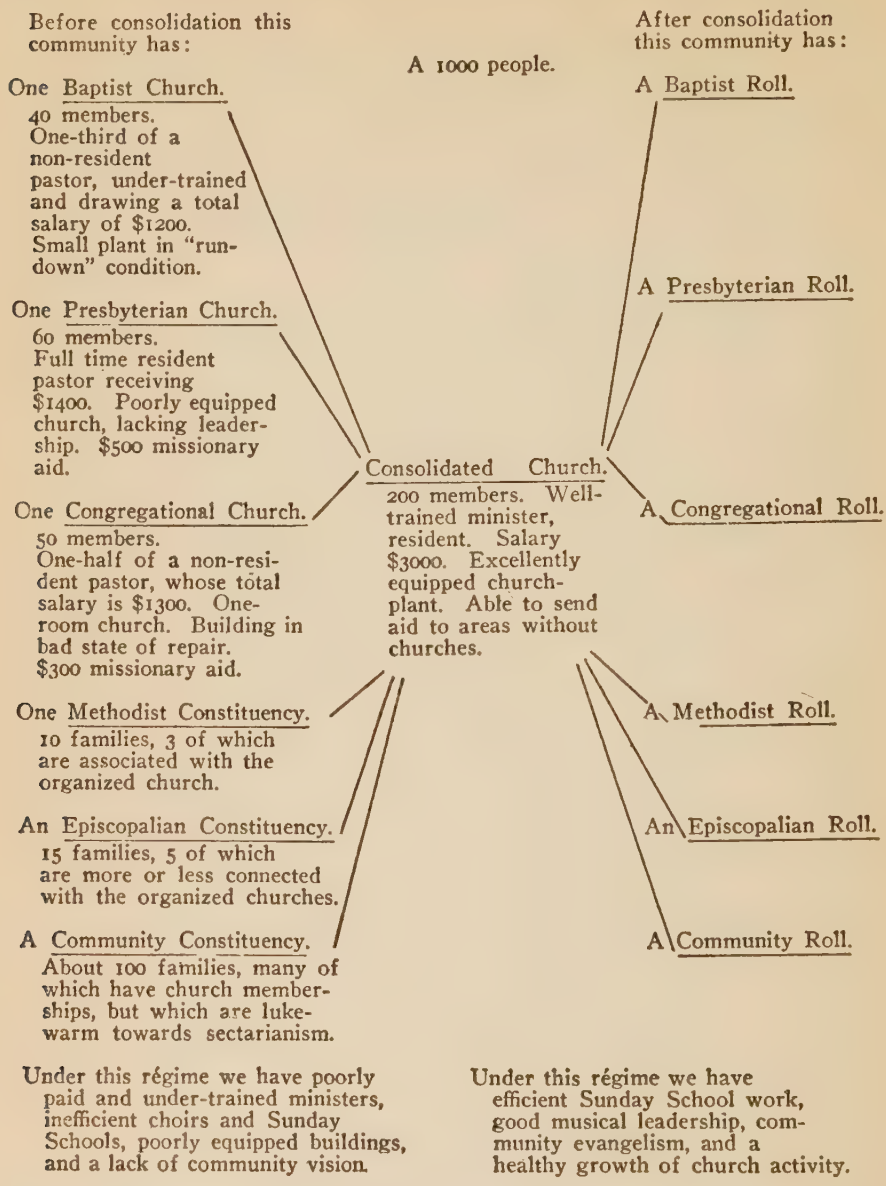
Adjustment and adaptation, as visualized by sociology, do not mean revolution which would tear down the machine so that another could be built. It rather means that little by little we introduce devices which will promote the processes of orderly advancement along the lines indicated by scientific study. We cannot run before we can walk. We cannot realize our dream of a united church until we have had a long process of systematic adjustment. The unification of religious effort must work not only from the bottom up, but from the top down. Without an adjustment of the overhead administrative machinery of the church in the direction of unification of effort, local consolidation is left without moorings or guidance. Without local adjustment the overhead schemes of co-operation are left without local support. The signs of the times point to a consolidation of church work from both directions.

Let us not despair of the church's future, and paint gloomy and pessimistic pictures of the decadence of the rural church. Let us not take fright at the thousands of abandoned churches in the open country, but rather realize that such are but a relic of the age of neighborhood organization and horse-and-buggy transportation. A larger percentage of farmers belong to and communicate with the church than ever before. The abandoned church at the cross-roads merely means that they have cranked up their Fords and driven to the village church. The democratization, the socialization, and the humanization of religion gives every reason for a prediction of the coming of a twentieth-century Christianity that shall surpass all previous developments.

THE NEWSPAPER AS A SOCIALIZING AGENCY

The Western Iowa farmer secured 249 annual social contacts [21] through the newspaper. If 1400 adult people in a community averaged even 200 annual newspaper contacts, it would bring the total up to 280,000. In

[21] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.


Before consolidation this community has:
A 1000 people.
After consolidation this community has:
One Baptist Church.
40 members. One-third of a non-resident pastor, under-trained and drawing a total salary of $1200. Small plant in "run-down" condition.
A Baptist Roll.
One Presbyterian Church.
60 members. Full time resident pastor receiving $1400. Poorly equipped church, lacking leadership. $500 missionary aid.
A Presbyterian Roll.
Consolidated Church.
200 members. Well-trained minister, resident. Salary $3000. Excellently equipped church-plant. Able to send aid to areas without churches.
One Congregational Church.
50 members. One-half of a non-resident pastor, whose total salary is $1300. One-room church. Building in bad state of repair. $300 missionary aid.
A Congregational Roll.
One Methodist Constituency.
10 families, 3 of which are associated with the organized church.
A Methodist Roll.
An Episcopalian Constituency.
15 families, 5 of which are more or less connected with the organized churches.
An Episcopalian Roll.
A Community Constituency.
About 100 families, many of which have church memberships, but which are lukewarm towards sectarianism.
A Community Roll.
Under this régime we have poorly paid and under-trained ministers, inefficient choirs and Sunday Schools, poorly equipped buildings, and a lack of community vision.
Under this régime we have efficient Sunday School work, good musical leadership, community evangelism, and a healthy growth of church activity.

our six Iowa communities these contacts would total 320,000, or second only to those of the school. These are, of course, semi-social contacts of an indirect nature. Sixteen percent of the communities in Ohio, or 238,

had a rural newspaper. In the six Iowa communities there were five out of the six that had papers. Most of the people took the home paper.

Lively [22] states regarding total newspaper service: "Undoubtedly the rural people of Ohio are better provided with newspaper service than with library service. . . . The 235 weeklies are located in 212 villages, 22 villages having two, and one village having three papers. Since there are 671 incorporated places under 2500 population in Ohio, only 31 percent support a newspaper. Nine counties—all in Southeastern Ohio—have no rural newspaper. The reported circulation of these 235 weeklies is 270,303. The inadequacy of this circulation to serve rural people is seen by a little figuring. There are 2,082,258 persons living outside cities of 2500 and over (1920 census). . . . Assuming one paper for each family, the weekly circulation of these 235 papers will reach just 52 percent of the families. . . . On the other hand, city newspapers serve rural people extensively. Of 148 cities in Ohio 42 percent support weekly papers and 62 percent dailies. . . . Or, the daily edition of the urban paper will supply each family in the State, both rural and urban, with one copy and have a surplus of 590,290 copies." Thompson and Warber's studies [23] indicate that 75 percent of the people in the locality surveyed in Minnesota take a local weekly paper, 59 percent take city daily papers and 84 percent take agricultural papers. Rankin's surveys [24] in Nebraska show that about 90 percent of the farmers take newspapers and about three-fourths farm papers. Atwood [25] gives some interesting figures and comments about the newspaper situation. The need of the paper is impressively brought out. "Americans are rapidly becoming a race of nomads. Every minute not spent in working or sleeping is spent rushing around in automobiles, trains, or trolley cars. . . . The people who make the city daily are interested in the country and in small towns where the paper may be read largely because the people of the community mean just so many more possible subscribers, and therefore, so much more advertising revenue. But the country newspaper, even the poorest, offers a meeting ground of all these 'better interests' of the community. There is not an institution, including the church, the school, the farm bureau, or local business, which does not suffer when a town's only local paper is forced out of business." Atwood

[22] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[23] Thompson and Warber, *A Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota.* University of Minnesota, Economic Studies, No. 1, pp. 46-47.

[24] Rankin, J. O., *Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes.* University of Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 180, pp. 10-12.

[25] Atwood, M. V., *The Country Weekly in New York State.* Cornell College Country Life Series, Lesson 155, pp. 282-284.

notes a tendency towards consolidation marked by a mortality of the "weak sisters." "First of all, not much longer is there to be a place for the small four-page paper, made up of patent medicine advertisements, free plate matter, and a column of more or less local news, set from type so worn that it is hard to tell the o's from the e's. . . . From 1915 to 1920 the number of towns having two papers decreased from 90 to 82, or an 8.8 percent decrease, and the number of towns having three or more papers decreased from 26 to 11, or a 57.6 percent decrease." He defines the country weekly graphically. "Most papers [26] have a circulation of about one thousand. Again using figures compiled from a study of Ayer's 1920 directory, 225 papers had a circulation of less than one thousand; 250 had circulations of more than one thousand and only 15 had a circulation of three thousand or more."

One of the great indictments brought against the country weekly as a socializing institution is its proclivity for handling trivialites and inconsequential gossip rather than constructive news of a cultural character. Country people, who are naturally curious and who are without bigger things to discuss, allow their talk to run to gossip and rumor. In regard to the type of news, Atwood states: [27] "The news of the country weekly must be the news of the community in which it circulates. The personal item has always been the bulwark of the country weekly and it will continue to be. . . . Almost all country weeklies in the state will find that most of the essential news which they can print has already been printed in the papers of neighboring cities. But only the country paper can give this actual news its full local value and its historical setting, can show its significance and make it live." We should recognize that personal items of neighborhood appeal have a strong tendency to beget the "we feeling" and are bound to be prominent where there is much face-to-face association, communism, mutual aid, and familism. Since the rural mind, more than the city mind, is interested in individuals, and since collective news sinks into the background as compared to the concrete individual item of personal interest, the rural newspaper has to a large degree adjusted itself to rural curiosity, rural individualism, and rural localism.

Yet there are many things which the local paper can do to get away from the prosiness and provincialism of local trivialities and lift itself out of the rut into which so many papers slip. Atwood quotes Kirkwood thus: [28] " 'Community building was a concept unknown to the editor of

[26] Atwood, M. V., *The Country Weekly in New York State.* Cornell College Country Life Series, Lesson 155, pp. 288-289.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 298. [28] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

30 or 40 years ago. Today it is an accepted concept of dynamic force, full of significance to most country towns of America. . . . Community service, community building, then, as a master motive, establishes the country-weekly publisher securely in his position of leadership.'" The author of this bulletin continues:[29] "If the country newspaper does not do much thought-molding it does offer a medium for the dissemination of thought, for the propagation of the ideas of the people of the community. The value of the newspaper to the community becomes especially apparent when some local project is to be considered, like the erection of a school, the building of good roads, or the installation of a water system. . . . There are times when the editor who refuses to take a stand is open to the charge of cowardice. But in the long run the country editor, who avoids as much as possible that which will involve his community in petty quarrels, is serving the community better than the editor who boasts that he is 'militant'."

In reference to the future of the weeklies, this same author further continues:[30] "What is to be the future of the country weekly? . . . First of all, the country weekly of the future will be recognized as a community institution. This means it will be prosperous. . . . The country newspaper of the future will not be sold as a newspaper, but as a community service, just as the telephone service. No one thinks a telephone rental of from $12 to $30 a year is high, yet in the service it renders, the paper is quite comparable to the 'phone; and the telephone receipts can't be used to put on the pantry shelves, the way newspapers can."

Beyond question the rural newspaper is a part of the community's socializing mechanism both on the impressional and the expressional side. Publicity has great power to create the wants by which the community's standard of life is lifted. Publicity, with its timely recognition of community achievement, is one of the prime stimulants to social and organizational endeavor.

The agricultural journal is a powerful agency of popular education. Its circulation is vast; its readers are scattered in every section; its cost of service is comparatively low. On a conservative estimate the agricultural paper circulation is over 15,000,000. Some have a circulation of over a million. Over nine-tenths of the farmers receive their agricultural education from this source. Experiment stations and agricultural colleges cannot yet compete with the farm journal in respect to numbers reached. The papers are not impeded by set courses of study in keeping their information

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 307.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

up-to-date. They can attack live problems of marketing, finance, and production; they can stay continuously on the economic and sociological firing line.

As yet, probably over one-third of the space is given to the technicalities of production. About one-eighth is given to marketing; while scarcely one-fifth is given to home, family, education, and citizenship. Less than one percent is given to such items as school, church, recreation, community centers, etc. But in the next few years we should see the farm journal catch the vision of the rural sociologist, and devote more space to social problems and community building.

From one-half to three-quarters of the farm journals—depending upon the locality—go into rural homes.

The newspaper is not an intensive socializer, but it is an extensive one. It tends to be most dominant in the rural districts.

THE MOTION PICTURE

The inventor of the motion picture did not realize that he had loosed one of the most powerful agencies that humanity has ever known, for either building or destroying character. Certainly, he never visualized the enormous audiences which would weekly attend the "movie." Without some attention to the motion picture any modern work on sociology would be incomplete.

Why the "movie" exerts a powerful psychic influence. The motion picture portrays human characters in action and so takes advantage of the psychology of suggestion and imitation. Postures, gesticulations, and movements pass from person to person in a very contagious manner. Nothing so strongly suggests marriage, divorce, safe-cracking, amorous outbursts, gun-play, as seeing some other human being doing these things. And it does not matter particularly whether the people who conduct "petting parties" are in the flesh or magnified and illuminated on the screen. The human emotions are there in melodramatic form to exert their powerful influence. Thus hundreds of youths who have been caught burglarizing stores, stealing automobiles, or promoting illicit sex relations confess that they got the idea from some motion picture film. Thus the motion picture is the dime novel intensified and made real by all the arts and tricks known to the motion picture profession.

The motion picture makes an appeal to the eye. In this way it takes advantage of the fact that four out of five people are visual-minded and learn by seeing things done. Every emotion on the face of the wronged

girl, the spurned wife, the condemned criminal, the debauched dope-fiend, the consecrated minister, and the sacrificing mother is greatly amplified by dramatic exaggeration, and considerably magnified on a brilliantly-lighted screen. And so these impressions, ideals, and standards concerning love, crime, divorce, war, religion, city life, and rural society, leave an ineffaceable mark upon the youthful mind. Whether the pictures are powerful sermons on clean living, whether thrilling, inspiring stories of true heroism, or whether lascivious, libidinous scenes of cabaret life, the motion picture will, through the eye, register its deep-seated, indelible effect.

The motion picture is viewed not only by older people who are less susceptible to suggestion, but by millions of youth in the tender teens. The exhibitor of marital unfaithfulness and love triangles should realize that half of his audience is composed of immature minds, with all the emotional instability of adolescence. It is not uncommon even in a small picture house to hear several dozen boys and girls of twelve to fifteen years of age giggling over the escapades of the sheik and the flapper wife. In one Iowa town a survey showed that 300 out of 376 high school students attended picture plays during the week. The average number of attendances in two weeks was 3.2 per person.

The future will augment rather than diminish the psychological and sociological power of the motion picture. Already we are witnessing spectacular recreations of historical plots by noted actors where marvelous photographic "stunts" are performed. Already we are seeing moving pictures in their natural colors. And science predicts that our age will usher in the life-like, three-dimension picture which not only moves but talks. The motion picture camera "stops" cannon balls, "grows" a corn stalk in fifty seconds, and re-enacts the World War. Nobody can set limits of its future achievements, even if this includes sending motion pictures by radio.

The motion picture as a producer of social contacts. Its relatively small equipment cost, its ease of adaptation, its ability to print hundreds of films from a few "master" films, and its ability to "broadcast" these into hundreds of communities with the swiftness of train speed, gives the "movie" "seven-league boots." Where Bernhardt could reach hundreds from the legitimate stage, Fairbanks can reach millions through the picture screen. From the standpoint of extensiveness of contact, the motion picture rivals the radio and newspaper.

In 1920 there were about 17,000 film theaters [31] in the United States with an aggregate daily attendance of something like 10,000,000. In the

[31] See *Encyclopedia Britannica,* Vol. 30, 1920 edition, p. 694.

same year about one-half of the population of the British Isles attended the cinematograph twice a week, giving a daily attendance of approximately 6,000,000.

The "movie" is no longer only an urban institution; it is also an important rural institution. Witness the fact that 23 percent of the Ohio communities [32] had motion picture theaters. In Iowa, several hundred small towns are served by the visual instruction department of Iowa State College with educational films. Each year hundreds of thousands see these pictures. The majority of county agents have portable outfits and show regularly at open-country churches and schoolhouses. In six Iowa communities [33] the motion pictures netted 86,000 hour exposures. In community 2 it brought in 40,000 exposures. Thus, as far as the quantity of contacts or mental exposures was concerned, the motion picture ranked with such major agencies as the church, the school, and the lodge. About six percent of the people in a recreational survey of Ames, Iowa, preferred "movies" as a form of entertainment, while 189 out of 289, or over one-half, attended "movies." Thus "movies" took first place as a form of recreation, with picnics and auto trips close seconds.

Land-owning farmers receive 2.7 annual social contacts with the "movies," according to surveys [34] in Western Iowa. Tenants received 2, retired farmers 13.4, laborers 25.6, and business men, 10.9. The visual instruction department of Iowa State College served, during the years 1922 and 1923, 386 communities with its educational films. These films were the basis of 6423 shows with an attendance of 136 each, making something over 846,000 one-hour exposures. Sixty-eight farm bureaus, 67 schools, and 5 churches were on the film circuits, which indicated that about 10 percent of the well-organized farm bureaus, and about 20 percent of the schools have organized film service. A much larger number, probably 80 percent, of the farm bureaus see films occasionally, since something like 80 county agents have portable machines. Lively reports [35] that there were 312 motion picture theaters in places under 2500 population.

It is, then, quite evident that in the rural community the motion picture is rapidly becoming one of the great producers of social contacts.

Maladjustments of the motion picture to the rural community. From several standpoints the motion picture falls short of its full service to the rural town and trade territory.

[32] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[33] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.
[34] *Ibid.*, Chap. IX, p. 20.
[35] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 38.

1. The commercial basis of motion picture exhibition. Instead of pictures being shown for their moral, artistic, and educational value, they are presented with the purpose of obtaining the maximum number of nickels and dimes. For in most of the rural towns the "movie" is operated by a private individual or corporation whose ability to select decent films is nil. In many instances pool hall owners, garage men, draymen, and tenant farmers conduct the motion picture as a side line. The result is obvious.

In the first place, such commercialization of this most important social agency often means the entry of vulgar comics, sex-appeal films, indecent cabaret scenes, and cheap, sensual melodrama. Even in the larger city, where "first-run" films of the more expensive type can be exhibited, we find a surprising amount of deleterious subject matter.[36] So naturally, in the five and ten dollar film of nickeldom, we shall find even a larger amount of character-destroying material. On this account the child of the small town fares even worse than the child of the city.

In the second place this degraded type of film service entails the loss of the best patronage of the community, the very constituency which is needed to support first-class "movies." In many corn-belt communities we find the motion pictures patronized by the migratory tenant and unskilled laborer who can give their large families a thrill for 15 or 20 cents per member. Only in a small measure do the land-owning, business, and professional classes attend the motion picture program. Having fallen into disrepute and having been deserted by the better element in the community, the "movie" not only degenerates rapidly, but secures a freedom from interference in demoralizing the ideals of love, marriage, and home held by the youth of the community.

2. Lack of an economic business unit. The small town has difficulty in securing audiences of sufficient size to afford the better grade of films. On this account the private exhibitor has an excellent excuse for showing the cast-offs from city houses. For the same reason the small town exhibitor subordinates the "movie" as a side line to some other business, and thus fails to give it the intelligent supervision which it deserves.

3. Lack of an adequate censorship. Most close observers of the practical working of censorship dub it a farce. The censorship upon the film at the time of production is notably lax and inefficient—if we are to

[36] A survey by the Madison Chamber of Commerce in 1923 showed that out of 110 films, 7 dealt with murder, 16 with violent death, and 13 with shocking injury. Seventeen of these 110 films suggested drinking, 9 vulgar flirtation, 6 deception, 12 cigarette smoking, 4 immorality, 4 gambling, and 18 use of weapons. Sixty-two percent of the films were clean and uplifting.

judge by the salacious scenes which slip through. Since it involves so many technical and artistic difficulties, state legislatures hesitate to raise the issue of a state censorship board. In the local community the board of private citizens, if there is such, is too busy to review the films or else waits until it is too late to stop their exhibition without great economic loss.

Adaptation of the motion picture to the needs of community socialization. The motion picture problem cannot be solved by attempting to "read it out of the community," or by simply stopping its Sunday performances. The "movie" is here to stay as one of the great agencies of education and recreation. Neither will bland indifference offer a solution. Our line of attack is upon the positive side, where we adjust it to its true function.

This adaptation seems to follow along definite lines.

1. A privately-owned but community-regulated "movie." A private concern may be subsidized by various community organizations to put on a program of educational and character-building films. Such subsidization may take the form of the contracting of so many season tickets, solicited attendance, or a better picture fund. In several Iowa communities well-to-do bankers and farmers have bought out objectionable motion picture houses, and, with the help of a community committee, have run higher grade pictures at cost. To these business men the profits came through the exposure of the community's youth to clean, wholesome citizenship. It was an investment in future manhood and citizenship. In other instances women's civic organizations, schools, or churches co-operate with a private owner in improving the quality of the films. The privately owned and managed concern is more apt to be free from the bad management that comes from any institution which involves itself in the factionalism and politics of a public utility. Furthermore, many communities are unable to secure the team-work necessary to conduct a community motion picture house.

2. The community-owned "movie." Many rural community associations are investing in both non-portable and portable [37] projectors, screens, and other equipment. After hiring some "handy-Andy" to operate this equipment on the hour basis, they are ready to take advantage of high-class films that have had their run in the large city, and to open nego-

[37] The portable projector has the advantage of its lower cost, its adaptability of projectory to small rural buildings, its exemption from the necessity of enclosure in costly fireproof booths, and mainly its ability to be used by a number of organizations at different times during the week. The school may use it on Friday night, the church on Sunday night, and the farm bureau on Thursday night. A person with ordinary mechanical skill can master its operation in a short time.

tiations for the excellent educational films which are sent out for a nominal charge from college extension departments, industrial corporations, and numerous other agencies. Not only can they obtain special rates which will effect a material saving, but they can arrange circuits with other communities.

In many instances these $150 or $300 outfits are paid for by selling season tickets to backers, or by charging, for one year, sufficient admission to meet the installments. In other cases shares are sold in the corporation, and dividends paid from funds received from benefit plays and socials.

The community should realize that not only does the community "movie" mean clean films and thousands of recreational and educational hours, but it also means increased trade and business. Other things being equal, people will tend to trade where there is some form of amusement. On the Wednesday and Saturday evenings of summer, an open-air "movie," enlivened by band music and projected upon the white surface of a building or canvas, will greatly increase the number of cars parked on "Main Street."

3. The itinerant exhibitor. County agents, extension lectures, and private motion picture agencies, can often be secured for "movie" programs in periods varying from a week to a month. In this way the community can, without incurring the expense and trouble of owning its own equipment, schedule a series of inspirational films. Generally, the itinerant film exhibitor merely "sells the idea," and arouses the community to the need of having a projector of its own.

THE LIBRARY AND BOOK SHELF

With a literate people and cheap printing, reading matter becomes a very powerful socializing agency. Through newspapers and magazines the isolated rural family can assimilate the present age.

The social efficiency of the library and the book shelf. Lively states,[38] concerning the use of libraries and books, that schools were the most common borrowers from the traveling libraries. In fact, 213 schools borrowed 25,853 volumes. "Seventeen community organizations, including community libraries, borrowed 8305 volumes; 70 clubs borrowed 4155 volumes; 30 churches and church organizations borrowed 3874 volumes; and 21 Granges borrowed 1586 volumes." Claxton[39] states,

[38] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[39] Reproduced from Rankin, J. O., *op. cit.*, p. 20.

concerning the reading of rural people, "For many reasons these people have more time for reading than city people, and will read the best books, of the best type, with more appreciation and profit. They read less for time-killing and mere entertainment, and more for information and inspiration. Their close and familiar contact with nature and the simple fundamental things of life gives them greater power for interpretation for the great literature of nature and life than city bred people are likely to have, and their time for reading comes in larger sections and with less interruption."

The large library in community 1 yielded [40] 30,000 reading contacts. The smaller branch libraries ranged from 1800 to 300 contacts. In a small community, such as number 6, there were 350 people that used the branch library. The average farmer [41] had 14 book contacts per year, the average business and professional man 77, the laborer 11, the tenant 10, and the retired farmer 64.

Part of the social inefficiency of the book and its kindred, the paper and the magazine, is attributable to the lack of library facilities in the community. Lively reports [42] that 7 percent of Ohio trade area communities with nuclear towns of less than 2500 have local libraries. He states: [43] "Library service in Ohio is chiefly a city matter. Of the 160 public and association libraries recognized by the State Library Association, only 53 are located in places under 2500 population. The Ohio Church Federation Survey reports 49 others, all in rural territory, and three circulating libraries having no general service. . . . The state superintendent of public instruction in a bulletin issued in 1920 had this to say of conditions found in 1913, 'One-fourth of the one-room schools visited had no libraries. One school had a library, but the board of education discontinued it because the children were reading books too much and the board feared the regular work would suffer.' . . . During the year ending July 1, 1919, 1033 libraries comprising 43,707 volumes were sent out. For the succeeding year it was 1219 libraries or 52,797 volumes."

Rankin states [44] that less than two-fifths of Nebraska population have access to public library facilities. Douglas County, which includes the city of Omaha, is the only county where 90 percent of the people are in reach of public libraries. His map indicates that there are five counties where less than one-third have access to this cultural agency.

[40] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.
[41] *Ibid.*, Chap. IX, p. 20.
[42] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.
[44] Rankin, J. O., *op. cit.*, p. 191.

Dyer in his *World's Work* articles, quotes Claxon,[45] to this effect: "'Probably 70 percent of the entire population of the country have no access to any adequate collection of books or to a public reading room. In only about one-third of the counties of the United States is there a library of 5000 volumes or more. In only about 100 of these do the village and country people have free use of the libraries.'"

In the next place there is a lack of library facilities in the average rural home. The farmer has a library of limited size and range. Texts used by children in school, books bought at drug stores for Christmas presents, practical stock-doctoring books, medical books, popular histories of the world in one volume, cook books, brief encyclopedias sold by "high pressure" sales agents, and books inherited as treasured family heirlooms, drift into the secretary or book-case. The farmer's as well as the city man's library is an accumulation of years. Several surveys give figures relating to the number of books in the farmer's library.

1. Books in Farmer's Home.[46]

2. In the Iowa survey[47] of Lone Tree Township, 26 owners homes had an average of 82.2 volumes per home. Forty-two tenants' homes had an average of 44.5 volumes per home. In the Iowa survey of Orange Township, Blackhawk County, Iowa,[48] 69 owners' homes have in their libraries 7355 volumes, or an average of 106.6 volumes. Fifty-six tenants' homes contain an average of 95.4 volumes per home.

3. There is a lack of appreciation of the more cultural and educational type of book. A study[49] of an Iowa county library, with its two branches, showed that 1100 reference and scientific books were read from four to five times a year. Something like 2800 fiction books were read from 15 to 70 times per year with an average of 30; 500 books on literature were

[45] Dyer, W. A., "The Spread of County Libraries," *World's Work*, September, 1915, pp. 609-610.

[46] Pierce, P. S., University of Iowa Monographs, Series 12, Vol. V, Part 2, p. 65.

Number of Books	Owners		Renters		Laborers	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
0	56	44	19	40	4	36
1-12	30	24	10	21	2	18
13-25	..	..	..	..	.	..
26-50	35	28	15	32	5	45
50 or over	5	4	7	7	0	0

[47] Von Tungeln, G. H., *A Rural Social Survey of Lone Tree Township, Clay County, Iowa.* Iowa State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 193, p. 234.

[48] *Ibid., A Rural Social Survey of Orange Township, Blackhawk County, Iowa.* Iowa State College Agriculture Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 184, p. 417.

[49] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII.

read from five to seven times. Thus there were 4400 to 6600 readings in scientific books, 140,000 readings in fiction books, and about 3000 readings in books of literature. Approximately 20 percent of the books on the shelves were fiction, but this 20 percent were read ten times as much as the other 80 percent. There were 1000 regular borrowers, mostly women and children; 50 farmers and 12 business men were on the list; 75 percent of the borrowers were in town, and 25 percent were in the country. The opening of the school year increases the proportion of reference books read. Even the suggestion by a women's study club, a minister, or a lecturer concerning the desirability of certain books, registers an increased borrowing of these books. Books on sociology were read two to three times the year; books on agriculture were read eight to ten times, books on religion three to four times, and books on economics four to six times.

It is evident that much can be done by libraries, ministers, and study clubs to improve reading taste, and to expand greatly the reading contacts at small cost. It should always be remembered that books lying idle on the shelves mean that the social heritage is not being transmitted.

In community 6, of 1000 inhabitants,[50] there is a small branch library under a bank building, with a maintenance cost of $260. There are many borrowers among whom are one business man and 12 farmers. Fifty percent of the remaining borrowers are from the country. Ninety percent of the books loaned are fiction. Outside of placing books on a special shelf, no organized attempts were made in any of the communities studied to educate the people to read instructive books. Most farmers and business men secured their ideas from newspapers and cheap magazines. A little library salesmanship on the part of the church, a librarian, or a farmer's club would enormously speed up the reading of cultural and inspirational books, which these libraries contain in fairly large numbers. Communities are not 18 percent efficient in utilizing their library resources, or in developing an appreciation of the value of good books.

The adjustment of the rural library to its task. It is quite evident that the area of library administration is too small, and that some system must be worked out which will offer first-class facilities. Dyer [51] sees the incompetency of the present system and offers a solution. "In New England and to some extent elsewhere, endowed village libraries are a common solution of the problem; but they presuppose the existence—or death—of a benefactor, and through them the town becomes an object of

[50] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

[51] Dyer, W. A., "The Spread of County Libraries," *World's Work*, September, 1915, pp. 609-610.

philanthropy and paternalism, which is not a system to be advocated or extended if we have at heart the best interests of American democracy. The little local subscription library, on the other hand, is too weak and too narrow in its scope to offer a general solution, and the taxable property of most country towns and villages is not sufficient to enable them to support good public libraries unaided. The answer is to be found in the central library owned by county or township, according to local conditions, and operating an adequate number of rural branches or sub-stations to insure direct contact with all the people. . . . California is at present the leader in this field with twenty-seven active county libraries, most of them established since 1910. County library laws have also been passed in Ohio, Wyoming, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Maryland, Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, New York, and Iowa. All but three of these states provide a county tax."

There is little doubt that a well-advertised, free library with its reading room is a potent factor in stimulating interest in books and literature. The cost is small, since the branch library can be operated by a part-time librarian in connection with a store, post office, or bank. The books, with due care, can be read by hundreds. Each organization, school, church, or club should set a day and a program to promote the reading of good books, and so enlighten the community as to the extent of its reading resources.

RURAL RECREATIONAL AGENCIES

We find a considerable variety of recreational institutions, some independent, some attached to religious or educational organizations, some financed by public initiative, and some commercialized. Through these recreational and amusement institutions, which quickly mark the socialization level of the community, there originate a great variety of social contacts. In many communities recreation has gotten into a rut, with a resulting lack of adaptation to the youth of today. Some let recreation take care of itself, with the result that commercialized enterprises look after their boys and girls. Most rural teachers acknowledge that one of their most serious problems is that of recreation. They are firmly convinced that demoralizing recreation soon wrecks the morale of the school.

Most of the rural organizations have some sort of recreational program which sometimes goes under the name of "social."

The pool hall. One of the leading forms of recreational agencies in the rural community is the pool hall, operated for the most part, commercially, and rarely conducted upon a wholesome plane. In most in-

stances it is associated with loafing, drinking, lewdness, profanity, and social demoralization. Its habitués generally comprise the tough element of the community. In connection with this institution, which is designed to kill idle time, there is generally operated an ice-cream stand, a soft-drink counter, and a dispensary for various brands of tobacco. In a few instances the decent elements patronize the institution and endeavor to keep it in good repute. In a few instances pool halls are operated by religious organizations for the express purpose of keeping their youth away from the degenerate resorts. Lively reports [52] in his survey that 42 percent of the rural trade communities had pool halls.

The pool halls brought in 90,000 social contacts annually in six Western Iowa communities [53] as compared to 23,000 contacts through chautauquas and 155,000 contacts through the churches. Most surveys show that about five percent of the farmers list billiards as a form of family recreation, indicating that most men go to the pool hall for this. In most communities, the farmer is not a star patron. It is regularly the "chronic, town-loafing gang" that makes up this constituency. There can be little doubt that the pool hall, with its soft-drinks stand, takes the place of the saloon as a "hang-out" for the moron and the slacker element in the community. The only answer is a positive community program of recreation.

The playground. In most rural communities the organized and supervised playground is still conspicuous by its absence. Lively does not mention this institution. Only one such effort was discovered, and that was in one Western Iowa community where a church had set up some tennis nets and basket ball poles on a vacant lot. The criticism was that, lacking supervision, the participants sometimes became unruly and obstreperous. Organized and socially-controlled play has been slower in appearing in the rural community since country life is supposed to furnish a considerable quantity of natural recreation—although this latter fact is not so potent as formerly.

The dance. The dance is an important recreational institution in rural as well as city communities. It has always been closely connected with the celebration of peasant festivals. This is excellently illustrated by the Irish wakes, and the peasant wedding ceremonies celebrated by the type of dance which appeals to the emotional and excitable type of mind. Rhythm and melody have always had their strong appeal to any life which is immersed in the primitive. One of the institutions carried over from pioneer life is the barn dance. Although the old "buck-saw" fiddler has disap-

[52] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[53] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

peared in many sections, the dance still remains with its backing of modern jazz and fox trots. Dancing requires little planning; it gives an opportunity to mix; it holds a strong sex appeal; it stimulates rhythm. Æsthetic dancing may appeal to the higher artistic tastes, but, as it is often conducted in public dance halls, it strongly appeals to the sex instinct. When even family life bases itself on human mating, we cannot expect to remove sex and sex appeal from social institutions. We can only hope to guide the development of this instinct in a more constructive way. A few communities have attempted the censored or chaperoned dance, although this is rare in the country as compared with the city. Some rural communities have organized private and select dances to sift out the rowdy element, which puts most of the objectional features into the dance. Several bad features, some of which can be removed, appear in this institution. 1. Late hours; 2. Unchaperoned boys and girls of "teen" age; 3. Music designed to over-stress sex appeal; 4. Suggestive postures and steps; 5. Drinking; 6. The presence on the floor of immoral men and women, the result of which is the demoralization of youth; 7. The failure to provide a responsible and capable management.

Several studies indicate the extent of dancing in rural areas. Thus Lively,[54] in his Ohio study, states that 19 percent of the communities have public dance halls. In the Western Iowa study all communities had both public and private dances in addition to numerous barn and neighborhood "hops." In six communities dances brought 16,000 social contacts,[55] thus ranking them above the lyceum, the club, and the farm bureau. It should be recognized that the dance is serving, in the absence of other effective agencies, as a socializing agency which brings together young people of both sexes. The dance will invade any community lacking organized and planned recreation. Card playing seems to be an accompaniment of dancing; since it offers a chance for those who are either too old to dance or who have not mastered the terpsichorean art to share in the evening's recreation.

In the Iowa rural surveys by Pierce[56] 14 percent of the owners and 25 percent of the tenants danced. Eighteen percent of the owners and 23 percent of the tenants played cards.

Dancing and card playing vary much in different areas, owing to the sectarian ban upon them. Again, other forms of recreation compete with the card table and dance hall.

[54] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.
[55] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.
[56] University of Iowa Monographs, Series 12, Vol. V, Part 2, p. 82.

Athletics. Certain types of athletics develop in rural communities and furnish a considerable number of social contacts.

1. Horse-shoe pitching furnishes a considerable amount of recreation to both active farmers and retired farmers. It has the advantages of being quite free from gambling, of developing real skill, and of providing wholesome fun. The only difficulty is that the majority must remain on the side lines and look on. However, "horse-shoe" does not bring together large gatherings, and thus it lacks social contacts. It is an intensive association of a small group, which can visit and cultivate comradeship.

2. Baseball, football, and basketball drew together large crowds for social contacts in the Western Iowa communities. In six communities in Western Iowa these games drew together some 39,000 one-hour attendances. Since they are inter-community, these situations stimulate community loyalty.

3. Many communities develop an institution known as Sunday-afternoon baseball. Upwards of 10,000 contacts came into these Western Iowa communities on Sunday afternoon. Unfortunately the rowdy element tends to follow in the wake of ball teams and to foment vulgarity, profanity, betting, and fighting. To many it seems like a reversion to the European Sabbath, although it is recognized that Sunday is a very convenient recreation day for the tired business man or farmer.

Music. Music is a form of recreation which has great socializing value. Having a strong emotional and inspirational effect, music can be moral or immoral. While degenerate living and dissipation is always associated with exotic music, consecration of high and noble endeavor is often associated with classical music. Strange as it may seem, many people live and feel through music. Even tones and chords have color and mood.

As yet music lacks as a socializer, owing to the fact that its expressions are individual and isolated. Although small rural groups associate in a musical way, most of the 42 musical contacts of the farmer are secured by listening to the phonograph, or playing an instrument. Most homes have some form of musical instrument, and, with the radio, nearly all of them will have access to this form of socialization. Music as a socializer has several pronounced advantages.

1. It has an almost universal appeal. Books and lectures appeal to perhaps an upper 10 percent of the critical intellectual. While less than one-fifth of the members of Young People's Societies will take part in speaking, nearly 90 percent will take part in singing. Musical entertainments draw far larger audiences than lectures.

2. Music can be carried on in large crowds and groups. This gives a

strong "we feeling" through conscious co-operation. Community singing is rapidly coming forward as a great stimulator of community spirit.

3. There is democracy in music, since quartettes may be made up of the wealthy banker as bass, and of the poor tenant as tenor. Musical talent is not confined to social superiors.

4. Thoughts or words put to music impress more deeply. Furthermore, the typical mind in the country is emotional and primitive; it responds and feels through music. Was it the singing of Sankey and Rodeheaver, or the preaching of Moody or Sunday that moved thousands of hearts?

5. Music, like books, is a cheap form of socialization. Libraries of phonograph records and player rolls that cover the range of social composition can be built up. By means of the radio thousands of musical compositions floating through the air can be brought into the farm home at small cost. Most rural communities have over 100 people talented in music who can develop their abilities by furnishing music for the home community.

6. People are more willing to express themselves musically than forensically. Musicals are the occasion for the coming together of many crowds in the rural community. On Saturday evenings several hundred listen to band concerts on the main street. Choirs sing at all the churches. Most communities have several musicals, cantatas, and recitals each year. Community "sings" are beginning to feature rural programs. Lively [57] states that 22 percent of the communities in Ohio have a band, and 19 percent an orchestra. Six percent have a chorus or singing society. In the Minnesota survey by Thompson,[58] 59 percent of the families had music as a form of recreation, while 25 percent attended band concerts.

Improvement of recreational facilities. Many communities lack recreational equipment, since rural life is but a few decades away from the adventure of settlement. Recreational equipment found in the Western Iowa area consisted of three school gymnasiums, used mostly for basketball, six outdoor baseball, basketball, and football diamonds, five pool halls, three band stands, five parks (one or two equipped with tennis courts), one supervised playground with basketball and tennis equipment, several selected swimming holes in the creeks and rivers, four or five skating stretches on the river and lakes (used a few weeks in the winter), and a few swings and benches in the parks. Typical forms of recreation consisted in Sunday baseball, winter basketball, pool, cards, dancing, swim-

[57] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[58] Thompson and Warber, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

ming, tent shows, "movies," hunting, fishing, football, and "gossip" parties. Occasionally, socials and picnics with games and stunts gave some variation to the ordinary procedure. There were few places for young people to have wholesome play except on the streets, in the pool halls, or on the dance floor. Parks were things of beauty rather than a means of play. Among the types of equipment that have been introduced into the rural community playground or park are:

1. The skating pond or rink. This is an excellent outdoor sport for both sexes and all ages, and is comparatively inexpensive.[59]

2. The swimming pool. Hundreds of people in the country would quickly drown if thrown into water, because there are no adequate opportunities to master the simple art of swimming. A small swimming tank or pond can be built for summer use with comparatively small expense.

3. The roller-skating rink. Many town halls and dancing floors could be easily converted into roller-skating rinks. This sport, like ice-skating, is adaptable to both sexes and all ages, provides many social contacts, but unlike ice-skating can be carried on at all seasons.

4. The gymnasium. The consolidated school gymnasium solves the recreational problem as far as room is concerned. Trapeze bars, mats, and other gymnastic equipment are often absent. Communities that are not so fortunate as to possess a consolidated school, can sometimes use the basement of a church, a town hall, or a community hall.

5. The playground. Compared with the city, space is cheaper in the country. In the city, well-drained areas, free from street traffic, are hard to find. But every country town has vacant lots or adjacent pastures which may be rented and developed for recreational purposes[60] at a small sum.

[59] Winter health depends upon open-air exercise, and skating has the advantage that nobody has to stand on the side lines, that skates are not expensive equipment, and that the exercise can be suited to the needs of the individual. With comparatively little expense, with a small amount of donated work, a few vacant lots, a baseball field, or a pasture may be converted into a skating pond. The project is quite feasible, when the pond is near to the town water mains or close to a surface well. A stirring plow, by back-furrowing, throws up a dike around the area, which may be made more impervious by boards on the water side. As the ground freezes, this area can be flooded. Generally it will hold water quite satisfactorily. A push scraper, made out of a grader or a stalk-cutter blade, mounted on a triangular frame, helps keep the ice scraped. Occasional flooding may create a new smooth surface. With the addition of a shelter shack on skids and an electric light pole, the pond is ready for winter sports, games, and ice carnivals. Thousands of social contacts would be produced from such an institution.

[60] Swings, slides, strides, take-offs for running and jumping, teeters, sand bins, horizontal bars, etc., can be made by home effort. Two hundred dollars would purchase much of this equipment. This might be raised by a benefit athletic match or from the funds received from a football or baseball game.

Often the development of community activities and programs is hampered by the absence of any adequate place to house such activities. The securing of a community home is often the signal for the organization of community activities. Through the building of community centers the community movement in America has materialized itself. Nason and Thompson [61] present some interesting facts relative to the growth, type of financing, character of buildings, maintenance, and type of community buildings in the United States. Their study indicates that these buildings are of several types, depending upon the size of the social area.[62]

The various types of community halls [63] have made their appearance in

[61] *Rural Community Buildings in the United States*, pp. 2-3. United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 285, shows that there were, in 1910, 55 such buildings, but owing to the shift of the center of rural life to the village town and the post-war movement in the building of community centers as soldiers' memorials, there are now about 256 buildings of this character, 201 are in places of 2500, 83 in the open country, 55 are in towns or small cities of more than 2500 population. "Twenty-five are school community buildings and 29 are church community buildings, 20 of the latter being in buildings separate from the church. Nine are farmers' fraternal society buildings and eight are library and community buildings." The amount of money invested in these buildings varied from $200 in smaller rural communities to $50,000 in the larger city communities. This survey does not, evidently, take into account the large number of existing town halls, churches, and consolidated schools that are used for community gatherings. If the figures for the Iowa surveys are indicative of the rest of the consolidated school area in America, we should have about 6500 buildings used in this way. Probably the addition of town halls, grange halls, and churches would bring the total to double this.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5, states: "The simplest of these buildings, often found in the open country, generally contain, first, an auditorium, the movable seats of which permit it to be transformed into a dining room, an athletic room, or a hall for dancing; second, a stage, with curtains and dressing rooms for theatricals; third, a kitchen equipped with stove, utensils, dishes, and cutlery. Often the assembly room is on the first floor and kitchen and separate dining room is in the basement. . . . In the county seats and larger towns the buildings are often quite complete, having besides the usual rooms an office room, special rooms for banquets, a café, a gymnasium, billiard and bowling rooms, an agricultural exhibit room, . . . The sites in both country and town range from a size little larger than the buildings to one of several acres. Those with the larger sites are often provided with baseball diamonds, tennis, volley ball, and basketball courts, tracks, and athletic fields, and equipped with playground apparatus." Maintenance ranged from 5 percent to 10 percent of the initial cost of the plant, such expense being defrayed by dues, fees, assessments, rentals, receipts from entertainments, voted treasury money. Management was through boards of trustees elected by stockholders who delegate their authority of control to house secretaries, caretakers, physical directors. Such community centers are financed by local manufacturing concerns, individual donations, clubs, sale of stock and taxes levied by townships and towns.

[63] *a.* Old church buildings which have been revamped for community or farm bureau halls. A few have motion picture equipment, many have kitchens, and some have athletic equipment. Most of these are found in the open country. They have been built by donations of money and work.

b. Consolidated school buildings. Over half of these serve in some manner as community homes. Generally, a fund is raised to pay the school board for light, janitor service, and breakages.

c. Town halls. Several hundred towns have one and two-story halls, where the fire equipment is kept, where elections are held, and where town meetings

Iowa, some of them supported by taxation, some by rentals, and some by voluntary contributions.

THE RURAL CLUB

Types of clubs found in rural districts. Lively, in his Ohio survey,[64] found that 9 percent of his trade communities under 2500 had a parent-teacher association with an average membership of 60. These seemed to be confined to relatively few counties. Twelve percent of the communities had a Boy Scout troop, 13 percent a Girl Scout or Campfire Girls' troop, and 7 percent had a farmers' club.

In the Ohio survey[65] which comprised 1272 trade areas of 2500 or less, there were reported 629 open clubs and societies such as music clubs and mothers' clubs. In the same area 103 farm women's clubs were reported. Minnesota[66] had, in 1915, 800 farmers' clubs organized actively in the state.

Iowa had 223 community clubs in 1923. Every county has several dozen corn clubs, calf clubs, canning clubs, garment clubs, most of which are attached to farm bureaus, schools or extension departments as educational projects. A report of farm bureau work since 1920 indicates 300 counties in the United States with leaders of boys' and girls' clubs.

Women's clubs, which generally affiliate with the Federated Women's Clubs, exist in most Iowa towns of over 500.

Socializing power and scope of the various types of rural clubs. 1. The Parent-Teachers' Association. This agency is founded largely upon the child-teacher-parental interest and, since the coming of the consolidated school, has made[67] rapid headway in rural communities, 145 such associations existing in the state of Ohio. Because of the fact that its close connection with the school removes it from sectarian taint, this organization can easily expand into a community association. It can draw its leadership and incentive from the trained teaching staff, which is in a

are conducted. These have an auditorium, a stage, and a floor which can be used for dancing, basketball and group games.

d. The church. Many churches are now excavating a basement which can be used for community socials, games, "movies," etc. The church proper can serve as an auditorium.

e. Memorial halls, and specially built community centers—on the modern plan of architecture—have appeared in a few places. Some communities had a surplus of Red Cross funds at the end of the War and applied them to this purpose, although there was some doubt as to the legality.

[64] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[66] *Farmers' Clubs.* University of Minnesota Agricultural College, Bulletin No. 56, p. 1.

[67] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

position to promote this organization without laying itself open to partisanship. It can thus cultivate the community organization field with its numerous interests. Its program is both educational and social. Lively states that[68] "topics dealing with the relation of home and school, teacher and pupil, and child welfare," are discussed. In many instances a social hour with refreshments follows, when teacher and parent not only can get better acquainted, but can reconcile their viewpoints.

The social-contact yield of this organization is not proportional to the importance of the interest which it cultivates and projects. Only one community out of six studied in Western Iowa had such an organization. Out of 31,000 organizational contacts in community 4, parent-teacher activity contributed 750 social contacts. Lively states[69] that the average membership of the Ohio organization was 60. If they meet once per month with a sixty percent attendance, the contact yield would be about 342. If they meet semi-monthly, the yield would be 684.

2. The Farm Women's Clubs. Most of these belong to the Federated Women's Club. In Ohio[70] there exists the Ohio Women's Club Federation with 103 locals and an average membership of 23. In Iowa a larger majority of the towns above 500 have a women's club in the form of a Women's Christian Temperance Union, a Women's Civic Association, a Women's Federated Club, a Ladies' Aid, a Mothers' Club, a Larkin Club, a Neighborhood Club, etc. Many of these clubs[71] are attached in an

[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[71] In many ways this club movement clearly indicates that women are developing class consciousness, and organizing the wife-and-mother interest. The advent of woman suffrage has encouraged women's clubs to deal with civic and political topics.

Rural women's clubs are generally better attended, better organized, and better cultured than men's clubs. Women in their club work have several advantages over men.

a. They can meet during the day without taking time from the store or the field.
b. They can easily provide music and refreshments.
c. In the course of business, a man is able to exchange gossip and news, but, since each woman works singly in her kitchen she must rely on the social meeting to discover news.
d. Such educational and sociological topics as child welfare and social degeneracy have a more natural appeal to women than to men.

In most instances the clubs meet once or twice a month. While the first part of these meetings was occupied with social and informal activities, the latter part was given to the presentation and discussion of certain topics. Through these meetings at the various homes, where the hostesses are scheduled a year in advance, the women exercise a powerful influence upon civic affairs. Committees to investigate parks, "movies," moral conditions, libraries, and schools often arouse interest in civic welfare and secure action. The study series of these clubs, which included such subjects as "Making the Ideal American Home," "From Alien to Citizen,"

auxiliary way to churches and farm bureaus. In the majority of cases 90 percent of the members of these organizations were married women of mature age who had superior intelligence and training. In the medium-sized community about one-half of the members are farm women, who, through the organization, "rubbed elbows" with the banker's wife.

The social contact contribution of such clubs is not great; yet, it is not inconsiderable. In community 6,[72] of 100 people, this type of club contributed 460 contacts, while in community 5, 3000 annual contacts were produced. However, these are the very types of contacts which, when mounting even to 500, are indicators of the community's level of culture and interest.

3. Boys' and girls' clubs. These divide into four types. First, there are the ritualized clubs; second, the well-organized clubs with national affiliations that have a program inclusive enough to minister to religious, moral, educational, athletic and social needs, *e.g.*, the Boy Scouts and the Campfire Girls; third, the project clubs which focus their activity on the raising of an acre of corn or the feeding of a pig; fourth, clubs supplementary to Sunday School classes and churches, such as class clubs and Hi Y's. Many religious and secular organizations foster such clubs to meet the recreational and social demands of their youth, and thus retain their hold upon them.

The Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls have invaded 12-13 percent of the Ohio communities. From the standpoint of "teen-age" groups in the community, they represent one of the most powerful and hopeful character-building agencies.[73]

"Women in Politics and Industry," and "Industrial and Social Conditions Confronting the Alien," stimulated the use of libraries along the lines of history, hygiene, sociology, and economics.

[72] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

[73] Many factors contribute to the efficacy of these clubs.

a. They are worked out by experts from a well-detailed program based upon the psychological, recreational, and social needs of boys and girls of this age.

b. They appeal to the major instincts of boys and girls.

c. They have a broad program based on trained leadership. Their program is definite, and elaborately diagramed in the rituals.

d. They have a scheme of promotion upon socially and physically desirable performances. They have a scheme of recognition and distinction by uniforms, insignia, and badges.

e. The local is linked with a national and state program. Few Boy Scouts ever find their way into a juvenile court, while the boy and girl problem disappears in a great degree with the organization of a strong scout organization, or with the corresponding girls' Campfire. They are a type of organization based on sound sociology and destined to become strong socializing factors in rural communities.

On account of the activity of extension departments, farm bureaus, and other organizations, there has been a phenomenal growth of boys' and girls' corn, canning, garment, calf, and potato clubs. Iowa had, in 1922, 17,393 members enrolled in these clubs, spending 9360 days in project work. In many instances these widen out into an educational and social program, to a large extent solving the child labor problem as well as that of keeping boys and girls on the farm.

In community 6 boys' clubs [74] yielded 300 annual social contacts, and girls' clubs 200. In this respect the garden club brought in 2600 contacts, the sewing club, 750; the canning club, 350; Boy Scouts, 1000; and the Girls' Campfire, 1000.

We should recognize that this type of contact represents the highest type of organized effort and leadership skill.

4. Farmers' clubs. States such as Wisconsin and Minnesota have done much to foster farmers' clubs. To a large extent these clubs are social and recreational, although, in many instances, they have an educational program of real merit. Such clubs [75] originate through the paternal fostering of college extension departments and itinerant organizers who stress the idea of getting acquainted with one's neighbor and of thinking out rural problems with him.

5. Business men's clubs. A small number of towns from 300-1000 population have commercial clubs or chambers of commerce. As a general rule successful chambers of commerce do not exist in communities under 5000—and there the farmer constituency is small. In several communities of Western Iowa the Community Club represented the business men's

[74] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

[75] The bulletin of the University of Minnesota Agricultural College, No. 56, "Farmers' Clubs," p. 4, thus summates their club work: "For 900 clubs to meet each month, at least 30 must meet each week-day. Thus, each week-day about 2250 people are brought together in 30 different groups." They report that 100,000 people are directly associated with the farmers' club movement in Minnesota. Wisconsin, according to the University Agricultural Extension Bulletin No. 271, p. 9, had 250 independent clubs with a membership of 10,000. The total enrollment in neighborhood and community clubs is estimated at 25,000 members with a possible attendance of 175,000 different persons. Iowa, as noted before, had 223 community clubs. These clubs generally meet in the homes in the open country, and are for the most part composed of farmers. They have a small, nominal fee, because they are conducted with a minimum of business, such as merely collecting small fees, electing a president, and appointing program committees. Generally they meet at the different homes as scheduled. Some of these clubs meet in schoolhouses or special club houses. The following is a partial list of some typical rural farmers' club activities: Debating subjects of interest to farmers in the modern day, papers and discussions upon live-wire topics, outside lectures, music and dramatics, social hours, banquets or picnics, neighborhood fairs and exhibits, plowing matches and contests with other clubs, community houses, institutes and Farmers' Week, moving pictures.

organization. The community name suggested the desire of the business men to come into closer contact with the farmer constituency in the community.

There are several factors which recommend the club as a socializing agency.

1. It is more selective than the audience, the congregation, and the crowd. The fact that it is based on a certain interest or interest-complex indicates that its membership collects on this basis.

2. It serves to build up constructive acquaintance in smaller circles which have a unity of interest and purpose.

3. It has much independence and originality in program, and calls upon local inventiveness to render it a success. It is thus not so limited and fettered as are the stereotyped, prescribed organizations.

4. It tends to organize and express the different community interests, and thus to develop the talent and sociability of people.

5. It often classifies people as to age, sex, and intelligence, and so tends to develop intensively the interests peculiar to each group.

6. While crowds are not capable of thinking, the club can easily become a discussional group, and thus strike the logical, deliberative plane of thinking.

7. Its economy and wide range of adaptability. Clubs can be multiplied to reach every neighborhood, interest, and age-group in the community.

8. Its ability to supplement the work of other organizations.

9. It generally requires only a simple type of program and organization which can be mastered by most leaders. Thus the ratio between success and failure in club work is much greater than in the more complex and involved organizations.

On the quantitative side clubs bring a large number of class A contacts into the community. The club, with its appeal to culture, deliberate thinking, group life, sociability, and high ideals, will always be an important social agency in the rural community. The city man has always been regarded as the premier club man, but this illusion is dissolved when we consider the range of rural club work. Club work will, then, to a certain extent, break down the tendency to associate on family ties, and so accentuate the spirit of familism. The next era bids fair to be one of rapid organization of club work in rural communities, with the gradual consolidation, co-ordination, and specialization of these club interests through a central agency. This has, up to the point of consolidating budgets and

inaugurating publicity campaigns, been accomplished in the city by means of the chamber of commerce.

Although there can be little doubt that some communities are "clubbed" to death, having organized beyond the power of their personnel and leadership, efficient social engineering will gradually correct this maladjustment.

THE RURAL HOME

The home makes a contribution to the socialization which cannot be duplicated by other institutions, and which, notwithstanding the predictions of a homeless society, will continue as a powerful social agency. Tastes, ideals, moral values, attitudes, are so determined by the home influence that the school and neighborhood life cannot blot out the effects of either a good or bad home environment. The home, almost exclusively, claims the most impressionable and plastic six years of the individual's life, and so can inculcate habits of thrift, industry, obedience, and achievement which remain the inner core of personality. In the next place there is a solidarity, a blood-kinship, and a natural common-consciousness which cannot be found in any other type of society, and in the rural home isolation and family industry still further accentuate the social bond. Furthermore, in spite of the competition of outside social activities, the individual spends more time inside the confines of the home than any other place. While improved transportation makes for social contacts without the home, the radio, the newspaper, the book, and the phonograph make for contacts within the home. It may be urged that the difference in ages makes home association difficult, and that an overdose of home-life breeds familism, narrowness, and clannishness, yet these are only minor maladjustments which can easily be remedied. The home, founded upon the powerful sex and parental motives, is an irreplaceable socializing institution and the fundamental base of our social order.

The home has its maladjustments, not entirely chargeable to its own shortcomings, but somewhat attributable to the tremendous strain to which modern social and industrial demands have subjected it. Religion has weakened as a maintainer of family sanctity; parents reared in an age of superficial ideals fail to take their obligations seriously; the exigencies of modern business life turn the home into a lodging house; and men's and women's clubs, too often, remove the moral and cultural influence of the father and mother. The home has withstood, as well as other institutions, the hectic changes of a dynamic civilization. The art of social engineering

can make the necessary provisions to prevent the disintegration of home life in the coming age.

The home as a producer of social contacts. In the country the home is still the seat of the majority of social contacts which flow into an individual's life. This is particularly true in the more isolated country districts, since, out of 574 annual social contacts of farmers, 246 were contacts with books, magazines, and newspapers, 14 were contacts with instructional books, and 42 were contacts with music. Thus if we grant that a few of these contacts were taken outside the home, we should still have fully half of the farmer's social contacts developed through the home.

Improvement of the home as a socializing institution. Home life can be made interesting and attractive, provided we equip it for recreational and cultural activities, and provided we be induced to spend more time at home and less at pool halls, public dances, and "movies." Too few rural homes are well-equipped for recreation, study, or social life, since they are often—like the barn—regarded as a part of the farm's working equipment. This fact is brought out by various studies.[76]

There are many devices, which, when introduced into the home, will greatly enhance its recreational and educational power. With the modern player-piano the elderly farmer can fill the house with music and banish the silent organ that has remained mute since the marriage of the youngest daughter. With phonographs, radios, game boards, and tennis courts, the young people will solve many of their entertainment problems. The room in the attic or basement given over to playthings, the slide, the swing, the bird houses, the squirrel cages, the Shetland pony, and the flower bed, act as magnets to draw the "kiddies" homeward. And no home is complete without its well-lighted reading table, magazine rack, and book-case, bask-

[76] Pierce, P. S., in his Iowa Surveys, *University of Iowa Monographs,* No. 2, Vol. V, p. 83, gives information concerning the musical instruments in the rural home. He found that 1.2 percent of the families in Township M had accordions, 2.4 percent banjos, .6 percent cornets, 26.2 percent organs, 12.6 percent phonographs, 9.5 percent pianos, 14.3 percent violins, 3.6 percent guitars, and 43 percent no instruments at all. Kirkpatrick in *The Standards of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming,* p. 26, Cornell University Agricultural College Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 423, states that 15.2 percent had a piano and victrola only, 8 percent other musical instruments only, and 19.9 percent no musical instrument. Surveys (Iowa State College Experiment Station Bulletins, No. 184, p. 410 and No. 193, p. 24), in Orange and Lone Tree Townships, indicate that about 56.3 percent and 21.2 percent, respectively, of the homes have pianos.

The typical game equipment found in and around the majority of rural homes in Iowa were swings, hammocks, horse-shoes and pegs, cards, game boards, checkers, dominoes, croquet sets, guns, and cameras. In many ways there seems to be a lack of equipment in the rural home for recreation. According to Kirkpatrick's study, *op. cit.,* p. 26, 38.1 percent of the homes had cameras. Very few rural homes have slides or sandbins for the smaller children.

ing in the warmth of the fireplace. For both younger and older members of the family will, almost instinctively, find such a spot an attractive rendezvous. In this age of things which lure the child away from the hearthstone we should fill our homes with the things which suggest comfort, fun, and culture. In this time when so many forces destroy family life, we should spare no effort in developing family music, family games, family reading, and family worship. For in the co-operation which song and game demand, we supply the thing which industry no longer furnishes.

THE INSTITUTION OF VISITING AND CHANCE MEETINGS

The average Western Iowa farmer received 42.4 contacts [77] from visits, 94 from town trips, and 18.3 from attending sales.

While it is true that farmers spend less time visiting than formerly, by virtue of the fact that the automobile and radio take them beyond the society of neighbor and relative, nevertheless, on account of the intermarriage and relatedness between the rural families, visiting is quantitatively an important socializing agency. For some families this is the only form of social life. About one-half of the tenant families use Sunday visiting as a form of recreation. To a certain extent Saturday shopping presents an opportunity for visiting and gossiping. An average [78] of several Iowa surveys showed that 64 percent of the families visited on Sunday, and that 45 percent confined their visiting to relatives.

Over five-sevenths of the farmers interviewed in the Orange Township [79] survey paid visits, some once each Sunday, others once every two Sundays.

There are several factors which reduce the efficiency of this form of contact.

1. The lack of planned thought or activity. This makes it easy for the visit to degenerate into mere gossiping and scandal mongering or, where these elements are not present, into much trivial and idle conversation.

2. Few people are good listeners, or even good conversationalists; and no visit can rise higher than the mental and social planes of the two *socii*. To some extent the situation is redeemed by the use of such entertainment as music and games. This is more likely to result where groups visit.

3. The limitations of the knowledge and personality of the visiting

[77] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. IX, p. 12.
[78] Thaden, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[79] Von Tungeln, *A Rural Social Survey of Orange Township, Blackhawk County, Iowa.* Iowa State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 184, p. 446.

persons. It is impossible for one person to advance his development by associating with another who soon runs out of new ideas.

4. Topics on conversation take conventional, monotonous, and time-worn forms such as the discussion of the weather, the latest gossip, the fashions, the sewing, the farm work, etc.

We should not, of course, forget that the heart-to-heart communion with another personality often has great possibilities in the way of inspiration, although in too many cases visiting is based upon kinship rather than upon congeniality. Often it takes the intimate conversation to form a lasting friendship with another person, and, on that score, visiting has its great value. Further value is added in the way of renewing old attachments and friendships. No amount of group association can entirely take the place of the visit.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FARM ORGANIZATIONS

In many instances farm organizations received their initial impulse from economic motives which sought control of either political affairs or of markets. The organizer made the appeal on the "dollar-and-cents" basis. This would start the organization but would not give it longevity or perpetuity. Such organizations as the farm bureau or the grange cannot have immortality without a social program superimposed upon the economic. Thus, little by little, such co-operative and economic organizations as livestock shipping associations and elevator associations become the trunk upon which a social and recreational program is grafted. Under the plea that such recreation is required to maintain the social solidarity and enthusiasm necessary for the strength of the organizations, local shipping and elevator associations have their picnics, their play days, their social outings and their recreational life.

Since its basic theory denoted it as a sub-agency for a college extension department, the farm bureau has, in many states, become the medium through which government and state extension agents operate. Thus, as these state extension departments work out a social and educational program, they naturally attach them to the farm bureau; and with the exception of the rural church, the farm bureau of many states is easily the dominating, open-country society. It is controlled, officered, and operated by the farmer and his wife. Beginning with the farmer, it has become a family affair. To a large extent this farm organization represents the foundation stone for the organization of agricultural and home interest. In many communities, especially the open-country neighborhood, it is the center of social and recreational life.

Thus, 700 or 800 active Iowa Township Bureaus, with 100,000 members, with their 924 women's sections and 466 program committees, represent a powerful machine for social and educational work—if provided with a vital program.

THE CHAUTAUQUA AND LYCEUM

These two agencies [80] yielded 24,000 and 6600 contacts, respectively, in six communities. This is double the farm bureau yield and one-fifth that of the churches. With the advent of community plays, propagandist speakers, and extension lecturers, the chautauqua has had more difficulty in "balancing its ledger" in small towns. The most dynamic day of the chautauqua was in the period when rural people had little chance to hear first-class music and educational lectures. In the last decade it has experienced stiff competition from community-inaugurated activities.

The chautauqua presents several advantages to the rural community in that it inspires new ideas for the work of building character and developing community personality. During the summer when the roads are good, the county-seat chautauqua, with its operatic troupes, its concert bands of national repute, its orators of note, is within the reach of most homes in the county. Besides, it generally comes at a time of the year when corn plowing and harvesting are over. The large out-door tent offers novelty, while, in close proximity, there is generally excellent opportunity for picnics and camping parties. At the same time an excellent array of talent is mobilized in a comparatively short space of time for the culture-epicures and lovers of music.

Thirty-three percent of Ohio communities have their annual chautauqua and lyceum, which shows that a large number of small towns must have conducted them. Lively [81] states in regard to the chautauqua: "It is clear that the chautauqua, probably because of its greater cost and its tent feature, is quite characteristically a small-town institution, while the lyceum to a very large degree, is held in the consolidated and centralized schools of the open country. The educative value of the chautauqua and lyceum is considerable. . . . By means of the circuit methods which they employ, any rural community, however isolated, may have the best platform talent available brought into its very midst."

The average Iowa farmer received 2.5 social contacts through chautauquas, while the retired farmer who lived in the village received 13.7 contacts, indicating that practically all of the retired farmers attended

[80] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.
[81] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 12.

most of the chautauqua numbers. By means of a season ticket, a few of the more progressive farmers of a higher educational level attended more of the chautauqua numbers. However, most of them attended from a few numbers to none at all.

Aided with certain select outside numbers, one community staged a home-talent chautauqua which produced 2500 contacts, while communities with commercial chautauquas scored 500-1200.

MISCELLANEOUS AGENCIES

Fairs, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s, American Legions, Dairy Shows, Hi Y's, etc. introduce a considerable number of social contacts in certain communities. Lively notes[82] 77 county fairs, 17 independent fairs, 63 community fairs, and 64 rural-product shows in rural Ohio. Many of these contacts show up in the county seat, which is the home of the county fair. They also show in the contacts of the individual rather than the community. One community in Western Iowa[83] has an annual three-day fair, a community exhibit, and a chautauqua which, taken together, create from 3000 to 5000 contacts.

Y. M. C. A. work, usually, is prosecuted through a county secretary, who works with groups of boys. Thus it comes in the same category as boys' club-and-scout orders which have an athletic program as a supplement to their religious work. It is a constructive agency of the first rank, although, as compared to other institutions, it does not show up quantitatively. Hi Y groups, more select inner circles of Y. M. C. A. boys, create an "esprit de corps" of personality and manhood among high school boys. These groups introduced 500 contacts into community 2, and 1000 in community 1. All speak highly of this organization.[84]

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have treated each institution individually, with only a slight reference to its relation and adjustment to the others, a topic which

[82] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

[83] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

[84] Lively, C. E., *op. cit.*, p. 18, states: "These clubs stand for the ideals of the 'Y,' become study groups and promote their ideals in the high school or community. . . . Groups of boys not in high school clubs are organized for study and the development of Christian leadership. Through self-analysis and the promotion of the 'four-fold program' boys are aided in making the most of their talents."

In 1921 Ohio had nine organized counties with 1500 boys, while one county had an organized Y. M. C. A. The Y. M. C. A. work and program consisted of games and folk dancing at fairs, summer camps, study groups, health and home making, Bible study, exhibits of shoes, foreign curios, slides and films. Organizations of this sort promote the best social, intellectual, and moral interests of rural life.

will receive more intensive consideration in chapters dealing with community organization.

In summing up this consideration of the socializing agencies of rural life, it should be realized that we have given a rather general and sociological interpretation. It is quite apparent that any adequate consideration of the more detailed techniques of church, school, farm bureau, or rural club organization, would not only consume too much space, but take us into the highly specialized field of organizational administration. Our task is to visualize the institution as a mechanism which transmits culture, which exposes human personalities to socializing events, and which, in performing these functions, has maladjustments and adjustments of a sociological character. At all times emphasis has been placed upon the organization not as an end in itself, but as an instrumentality always needing adaptation.

To tell the complete story of rural organizations as socializing agencies, we must await the results of years of painstaking research scientifically conducted with devices for measuring socialization, and carefully testing the social efficiency of individuals, institutions, and communities. Now we can but drive a few stakes to guide those who will sink the deeper shafts into the sociology of rural institutional life.

By no means should we be discouraged with our devices of socialization because they show so many maladjustments. For let us note the terrific speed of social change and the large number of inventions which disturb society's equilibrium. Certainly we have the right to hope much, when in so many quarters—church, school, and farm organization—the earnest effort is made to study and correct maladjustments. If medical science can correct twisted limbs and distorted vision, sociological science will yet be able to correct the twists and distortions of human institutions.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Why must civilized society have a culture-transmitting mechanism? How does modern man differ from the cave man biologically? Can we account for much of the difference between civilized man and primitive peoples upon the basis of the fact that modern man maintains a highly developed mechanism for transmitting accumulated culture?
2. Compare the socializing mechanisms of primitive races with those of modern man. What different types of culture-mechanisms do we find in our rural community today? Show how organizations control the social-contact stream of the community. Why is it easier

for an organization to transmit traditions than to develop new interests?

3. Show the necessity for institutionalizing ideals, standards, and interests. Why cannot we rely upon men, acting as individuals, to maintain these social uniformities and products? What are some of the dangers of institutionalization?
4. What is the value of a study of the institutions and social agencies in a rural community? In what various ways did our existing rural institutions originate? Why are most communities over-organized? Show how propaganda and high-pressure competition methods oversell organizational machinery to communities. Give some illustrations of community agencies that have been organized from "the top down."
5. What organizations occur most frequently in rural communities? Why?
6. Evaluate the fraternal society or lodge as a socializing agency. Does the mutual aid and fraternal idea make a strong appeal in modern life? Why? Why do tenant farmers make a stronger showing in the lodge than the church?
7. Will modern man have a church and a religion? Why? Explain the phenomenon of over-churching. What forces have divided the church? What is meant by a medieval program in a modern age? Must religion be adapted to the society and the age in which it exists? What effect will the sociological emphasis upon religion have upon church unity? Is the community church a remedy for under-paid ministers and over-churched communities? What are some of the difficulties encountered by community churches? Is failure upon the part of the church failure of Christianity?
8. Discuss the school as a socializing agency. Why does it contribute such a large fund of social contacts? In what ways can we make the school a better socializing mechanism? Do we adapt the student to the curriculum or the curriculum to the student? Discuss the problem of religious education. What advantages has the consolidated school over the one-room school? What are its advantages? Trace the development of consolidation in the United States. Should we have more Federal and State aid for consolidated schools? Why? Is education a national or local affair? Why? Rate the one-room as a community center. Rate the consolidated school in this capacity. What is meant by the post-graduate slump in social contacts? How may we remedy this?

9. What elements make the newspaper a valuable socializing agency? Will the large city newspaper displace the small country weekly? What is the advantage of print over spoken words in molding public opinion? What are its disadvantages? To what extent are our newspapers used in community building? Is newspaper opinion and information biased?
10. Rate the motion picture as a socializing agency. You have seen the motion picture film entitled "The Ten Commandments"; you have also studied them in class. Which presentation has more deeply impressed you? Is the motion picture teaching the right attitude with reference to our various social problems such as divorce, crime, poverty, race antagonism, life in the small town, etc.? How may we rid our films of the demoralizing influence of the commercial spirit?
11. Rate the library and book shelf as socializing agencies.
12. Evaluate other miscellaneous socializing agencies.
13. Does the quantity and quality of social contacts vary directly with the number of organizations in a community?
14. How can we determine the number of organizations that a community should undertake to institute?

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CHAPTER XVII

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS—THE GENERAL SCHEME OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

TO WHAT EXTENT MAY ORGANIZATION BE A CONTROL FACTOR? NEW EMPHASIS UPON ORGANIZATION

Within the last few years rural sociology has begun a technique of community organization. Many books and bulletins have appeared dealing with this phase of the subject. Until we perfect methods of measuring the social efficiency of the various systems of community organization, we shall make slight progress. We are emerging from the age of individualism, when the appeal was to concentrate efforts on saving individuals one by one, and entering the period of social responsibility for individual failures. More and more we see that the individual fits into some scheme or system of social organization and functions efficiently or inefficiently as the case may be. Too frequently have we unjustly fastened the blame for the failure of leadership upon the individual's personality rather than upon his system of organization. The best marksmen would fail with a poorly-bored rifle. Many good teachers fail with a poor system of pedagogy, although they are more likely to overcome the handicap than the poor teacher.

Organization is to the sociological realm, what the proper "hook-up" is to the radio. Generally, it is not the standard parts within the radio that are important, but their arrangement with reference to each other. Shift the arrangement of the transformers, and the power of the receiving set changes. With the same set of tubes, wires, batteries, and transformers, many different "hook-ups" are possible. A new era to wireless telephony has been added by the experimental study of the relation and proportion of the unit parts within the instrument.

We have been taking up the factors of community socialization, in succession, from physical to psychic, and from psychic to social. It would seem that some of the physical, economic, and psychic factors are so powerful that we need not look elsewhere. While these are the bases of the larger classifications of communities and are the bases of civilization, the finer and more intricate variations in social contacts depend upon the

type of social organization. Thus economic conditions, such as low prices of farm products, affect thousands of communities in much the same way. They are universal and omnipresent. Within a short space of time the organizer can do little with them. Within a considerable area, communication, topography, or racial conditions show much uniformity. Here, again, are factors which lie to a large extent, beyond the control of the social engineer. Likewise the transformation of human nature within these communities is a long-time process. The community is crying out for immediate relief from under-socialization. Thus we search for some factor capable of immediate manipulation, which may account for much of the social variation between communities, within the area in which a state extension or social service agency may operate. Some communities have topographical and population handicaps. These should be noted by the social engineer, so that such long-time, social-transformation programs as eugenics, education, and stabilization of values may be planned. For the short-time program, they exist as obstacles, which he must contend with in his scheme of community building.

PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY ENGINEERING

We have been considering the social efficiency of the isolated individual organization, and evaluating the characteristics that fit it for its socialization function. We have recognized that communities will, for some time, work through these more or less separate institutions and will build themselves up organization by organization. Every community should be able to make a scientific choice of the ten or twelve organizations upon which it will spend its talent, leadership, funds, and social energy; for there can be little doubt that a wise choice of organizations—as well as their proportioning to the community's organizational carrying power—have much to do with the social efficiency of a rural community. However, we note that communities tend to have certain customary and standard organizations which are usually quite independent of one another. If the contacts do not flow through their farm bureau, they flow through their grange.

We have not considered the social efficiency of the community from the standpoint of its general plan or system of organization, which does not take into account the number or type of individual organizations as much as it does the relation of these organizations to each other. How are they co-ordinated? How do they work together as parts of a general scheme? The Survey of two Western Iowa communities that developed

radically different types of organization seems to indicate that the general scheme of organization is as important as the number and character of the individual organizations. Many rural organizers feel that their work is done when they plant a new organization in the community, although they neglected to organize the various institutions in the community into a coherent whole. In fact, a mediocre organizer can enter any community, and, on the basis of a following of disgruntled members and disappointed leaders, start a sort of protest or opposition organization in which these dissatisfied elements can hold an important position.

This setting out of new organization is naturally the line of least resistance, but it is only a very minor part of the organization task. The big job in social engineering comes in the organization not of individuals into organizations, but the organization of organizations. It is this new task which rural sociologists are emphasizing today.

HOW ORGANIZATION OF RELATIONS AFFECTS THE REACTION OF INDIVIDUALS

What part of human nature will be expressed and made manifest, depends upon the way in which individuals are related one to another. In Ross's words,[1] "the will to exploit lasts as long as the power to exploit." Arrange men in a caste system with a certain system of gradation upon the basis of military prowess or wealth, and such things as arrogance, superciliousness, and conceit appear upon the one side, and servility, obsequiousness and self-abnegation upon the other.

Every community population has several psychic planes, such as emotion, feeling, reasoning, and acting; each organization projects a plane through this complex which selects that part of human nature which is necessary for its maintenance and success.

When a church is organized, it is discovered that many individuals have a latent, religious bent. When clubs are organized, the sociable, or club-self, is discovered. Men may be organized either to fight or to practice fraternity. The organization has its psychology, its tradition, its customs, its constitution, and its purposes. To a large degree the individual adapts himself to the organization.

THE SOCIAL EFFICIENCY OF TWO TYPES OF ORGANIZATION COMPARED[2]

Communities 4 and 6 were taken as check communities and compared to 5—a community of about the same size. These were located in the

[1] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology.* The Century Co., 1920.

[2] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities,* Chap. VII, pp. 4-12. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

same soil areas and presented no outstanding differences in population, wealth, systems of agriculture, tenancy, education, or type of farms. Community 5, also had had five years previously the same type of organizational structure as did the other two communities. Each community had about the usual number of churches, lodges, women's organizations, and farm bureaus. Each had about the same size of consolidated school district.

Community 4, as well as community 6, followed the institutional, individualistic type of organization, each church, club, and association working independently of the others. There was nothing in the way of a farm-community association or council to co-ordinate their efforts, programs, or activities. Community 5 was organized upon the basis of a common governing body through which the other organizations co-ordinated their work. It tended to follow the functional type of organization rather than the institutional. Community 5 had a going community association and developed numerous programs, projects, and meetings on the community plan.

Community 5 developed 91,000 constructive, social contacts as compared with 31,000 for community 4, and 35,000 for community 6. An analysis of the reasons why community 5 was almost three times as efficient as either of the other communities shows several factors. A number of specific organizations stimulated certain interests and brought certain types of contacts into the community. Thus such activities as garden clubs, boy scouts, pig clubs, women's, and civic associations yielded several thousand contacts. Such were missing in the other communities. Community impetus and moral backing meant much for the founding and success of these subsidiary organizations. Rural communities are often socially bleak, not because there is lack of appreciation of psychic values upon the part of the people, but because dormant desires and wants have never been whetted. Large numbers of our tastes and instincts must not only be cultivated, but must have suitable conditions and stimuli to touch them off. Why is one community vibrant and enthusiastic over boys' work, women's civic associations, and educational lectures, while another community seems indifferent to these things?

It is because the people of the first community have had a taste of these cultural things, and have been under the power of suggestion. The creation of an organization or structure, such as a community center association, suggests powerfully the community co-operative idea. A choral society stimulates the dormant singing interest. Ninety percent of the people in the communities surveyed probably were imitators, awaiting a

suggestion to touch off their psychic energy. Since the fear of ennui haunts the most indifferent community, these followers of suggestion are not so self-complacent as is often imagined, but are ready for something—they know not what. They are continually restive under the sub-conscious feeling that there are gaps and lacks in their spiritual and social life. The dynamic factor of desire is there. Community organization and psychic suggestion wielded by the other 5 percent of the community is the directive, telic agency. The ideas radiated from 25 or 30 individuals are peculiarly contagious in rural communities because, having the whole stage, they are likely to focus public attention, and thus secure good hearing.

The focal point of suggestion and community-organization power may be variously placed. In the case of Orange Township,[3] Blackhawk County, Iowa, the "radiant point" of suggestion was religious tradition. In this community the church of the Brethren was the rallying point for community consolidation and co-operation. Around this $40,000 open-country church grew up a magnificent consolidated school, a band, debating societies, choral societies, a large and powerful Sunday School, community picnics, banquets, mothers' clubs, corn and pig clubs, fairs, and exhibits. Good agriculture, fine homes, and improved living standards were a tradition in the church. All looked to the church for suggestions as to what to do. Through the organizations which it fostered, the constructive social contacts of the community were greatly increased. It had achieved unity of action and higher ideals of living through a socially efficient, religious organization.

The church was the fountain of community morale, enthusiasm, and pride. Each time a new club or activity was organized, new supplies of social energy were liberated and canalized. The church tradition of a contented and efficient rural group was the social process. The writer had the temporary privilege of living among these people, and observing their implicit faith in the leadership of their church. They were rightfully proud of their socially-efficient community, not as individuals, but as participating members of a community group.

However, in mixed communities, this type of religious or communal solidarity cannot serve as a rallying point for contact-generating activities and organizations. Hence, in dozens of Iowa communities, the consolidated school is the nucleus. Community 5 is an excellent illustration of the ability of the school type of community organization to build up a pyramid of constructive contacts. Here, the corps of leaders rallied around

[3] *Rural Social Survey of Orange Township, Blackhawk County, Iowa.* Iowa State Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 184.

the fine $50,000 school and its superintendent as a non-denominational, non-partisan institution, owned and operated by the community. It was a source of pride. It was the community's new home. Around this school, miscellaneous, socializing agencies were grouped. Around the school a community organization was perfected. The direction of this community center association was well distributed between different organizations so as to avoid all appearance of partizanship. It was the duty of the Community Center Program Committee to co-ordinate all community activities and to avoid duplications and conflicts. The various community leaders were drilled in team-work. Instead of labeling certain activities as factional, they were labeled as parts of a "community" program. Each organization was called upon to "do its bit" in keeping community social life up to par. The fine thing in this system was that the constituency of every organization turned out as community citizens to see how the performing organization "put on" its contribution to the community social-contact fund. The average attendance at farm bureau and farm union meetings in communities 4 and 6 was 20, for these communities depended upon their constituency and "played a lone hand." In community 5 the average attendance was 200. Other organizations loaned out their membership to the farmers' programs, a compliment which was always returned. Since they practically doubled their financial support and membership roll, the churches did not lose by co-operating with the community movement. The explanation of the fine array of club, lecture, dramatic, musical, and religious contacts in this community is not to be found in any superiority in wealth, expenditure of money, or intelligence over communities 4 and 6. The reason why community 5 ran its desirable contacts up to 91,000,[4] in comparison to 31,000 for community 4 and 35,000 for community 6, was its *superiority of organization,* and the fact that its superintendent of schools was an excellent social engineer. Community 4 exceeded it in wealth, and community 6 in population. Its high rate of social efficiency was not attributable to mere expenditure of money, for it spent only 18 percent more than community 4 while getting really 300 percent more high-class contacts. Community 6 spent even more than community 5 for its activities. It was not because of the size and cost of its social plant that community 5 won its victory, but because of the intensive utilization of its equipment. Hundreds of Iowa communities boast of as expensive a socializing plant as this community possessed.

To secure 91,000 constructive contacts through dramatics, sewing clubs, garden clubs, glee clubs, bands, orchestras, chautauquas, etc., at an

[4] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.,* Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

expense of $7,300 in a community of 800, is a real achievement. This community, by fostering and encouraging various institutions subsidiary to its community association, was able to expose the equivalent of 1200 individuals in a year, to one-hour, community programs of great excellence. On the same basis there were 1500 exposures to plays and cantatas, 2500 to chautauquas, 2500 to first-class lectures on educational subjects, 12,500 to good motion pictures, 5000 to community exhibits, 35,000 to religious services, 2500 to farmers' meetings, 3700 to sewing, canning, and garden club work, and 4500 to musical programs.

This social plant created a big market for local talent as well as extra-local talent. A talent survey [5] showed that this community had developed 173 individuals with amateur ability, as compared to 132 in community 6, and 88 in community 4. Its degree of talent utilization, or turn-over factor, was 9 as compared to 5.4 in community 6.

Not only did this community add to the quantity of its contacts, but it greatly enhanced their quality by allowing an experienced, community-program committee to function as a board of censorship. Through this censorship the tastes and wants of the community were elevated and the socializing power of their lectures, musicals, films, and books intensified. Through educated censorship the plane of social contacts did not sink to the artistic taste of the mass, but remained somewhat above it. To sum up we can say that community 5 owed its social efficiency to these principles and facts:

1. That its programs were widely attended, on account of their non-factional, community character.

2. That its leadership and talent, as well as its social plant, were fully utilized.

3. That its quantity of contacts was multiplied on constructive directions by the organization of clubs which stimulated and expressed certain latent interests.

4. That its leadership did not use its time or strength in antagonistic effort.

5. That it improved the quality of its programs by the censorship of the best taste of the community.

6. That it possessed an organization which consciously planned to increase the number and quality of social programs and activities.

Thus this community was able to utilize more intensively its talent and equipment. This organization sold the community to the community. It made possible an expanded exchange of ideas and personalities. In short,

[5] See Chap. XV.

a community must organize to do the social engineering that shall increase both the quality and the quantity of social contacts. It must carry on planned activities, not as a group of independent organizations, but as a community. Without community organization there is social chaos and disorder, with a resulting drop in the quality and number of social contacts.

There can be little doubt as to the relative inefficiency of the individualistic, disassociated, and institutional plan of organizing. No longer will community organization be conceived of as merely planting new organizations in a community already overloaded with organizations. The programs in the institutionally-organized community do not draw as they should because of the fact that, where audiences are small, "our crowd," "our program," and "our affair" give the work a clannish aspect. In many instances the interest in the organization is barely great enough to maintain its business side. These institutions are often crippled for funds and working equipment. Programs, dates, and leadership are so duplicated and committees so multiplied that great inefficiency and confusion result. These organizations are too small to attract the volume of specialized talent and expert leadership necessary to carry on dramatic, musical, and debate work. It is this expert leadership of projects that gives quality to the program and gets crowds. In the preceding chapter attention was called to the overloading of the community with organizations, agencies, and institutions. The struggle for religious liberty in Europe, the fast work of high-pressure organizations, national propagandist movements, and organization "from the top down" have all been instrumental in over-organizing the community.

The quantity of social contacts coming through any given number of standard programs depends upon the size of the audiences and the number of minds exposed. Since the community, which is divided into sects, races, and factions, attends programs upon a group basis, a given number of talent appearances will not expose as many minds as meetings upon the community scale. Not only do community associations, through specialization of talent, increase the value of the exposure situation, but they attract larger audiences and so reach more people. The low efficiency of the institutional type, which is typical of the community lacking in local initiative, is traceable to small audiences, lack of community spirit, and untrained performers. When a community, through a central organization, proceeds to spend its leadership energy in developing functions and in organizing interests directly, it eliminates the waste of social energy incident to running a vast cumbersome mechanism of institutions, officials, and committees. This type of organization, which will be explained in more detail

later, puts the talent and leadership of the community into a pool and then proceeds to divide the labor upon the basis of dramatic, musical, public speaking, and athletic functions. It demands a larger amount of local initiative, planning, leadership, and determination to overcome factionalism and clannishness, yet this should not deter the courageous community-builder.

THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLE

We are attempting to use a social control scheme. We are striving scientifically to multiply utilities of the service type by increasing the number of participators in the situation. The public or community library serves more people and yields more mental exposures than the private one, because the books are better utilized. In most material and consumable goods, this is of more difficult application since material goods, as has been noted before, disappear and waste away in their use. One of our problems, then, is the extension of stimulating, social situations, so that they will now yield three mental exposures where they formerly yielded one.

The second part of the principle follows. Since three times as many people expose themselves, they can theoretically pay three times as much for the exposure-event and thus secure higher quality of performance. It is conceivable that some day a $20,000 concert will be had over the radio for ten cents. Thus, the social engineer will seek to take advantage of larger community churches, play groups, centers, and clubs, to provide the service of expert and well-trained talent under more specialized leadership. The production of social utilities and the rendition of psychic services follow a law which gives them a decided advantage over the more physical utility. We can see that a community, embodying only a small part of this principle in the organization of its impressional and expressional machinery, can triple its flow of contacts with little added expense. The increase in social value to the community's real estate will be ten times the added cost of this enlarged community program. It should be realized that rarely have rural towns with a community association junked their old institutional machinery, inherited from pioneer days, and that they have not as yet worked out a community chest. Until that is done we cannot estimate the saving effected through a consolidation of duplicating institutions.

THE NEW TASK OF RURAL SOCIAL ENGINEERING IS INDICATED

When the engineer tests an engine on the block or a tractor on the draw bar, he is not testing steel but organization. Through the use of

such a measurement unit as horsepower, the engineer has been able to eliminate defective engines and to develop the better type of motor. The older engines used too much of their power in overcoming internal friction and in turning wheels. They failed to get a sufficient percentage of their energy to the belt or draw bar. In the newer designs there has been both a reduction and co-ordination of moving parts, and consequently an elimination of much lost motion. In the near future the organizational engineer will test different systems of socialization machinery in order that he may perfect the more efficient types.

We are using a medieval type of social organization in a modern and industrial age; we are becoming alarmed at the failure of the intelligent segment of the population to function as social-control agencies. Alarmists predict the decay of modern civilization, while the race gropes blindly for some system of social control that shall save civilization. Since the less complex mechanisms can be more easily tested, the start will likely be made in the more simple, rural societies.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Can a good leader fail with a defective system of community organization? Will he waste much of his valuable energy? To what extent does the efficiency of a microscope or phonograph depend upon the correct balance and adjustment of parts? Is the organization of parts important to a microscope or phonograph?
2. Is it likely that a community can produce more social contacts by working through thirty organizations than by working through ten? Explain.
3. Explain the advantages which the community of co-ordinated social agencies has over the community of isolated organizations, which work independently. Does this indicate the work of the social engineer in the coming age?
4. How powerful a factor is organization in controlling the quantity and quality of rural community life?

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CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS—THE SIZE OF THE COMMUNITY

GEOGRAPHICAL DENSITY NOT NECESSARY FOR EFFICIENT SOCIALIZATION

Many of the older social philosophers, such as List, considered that a dense population was necessary for the social contacts required for the stimulation, specialization, and organization of social effort. For them social and national progress coincided with growth of population. The city, being the place of dense population, could not avoid elbow-rubbing and hence, sociologically, had an insuperable advantage over the country. According to this reasoning, a thickly settled country would develop a higher socialization level than one thinly settled.

There can be little doubt, however, that, while up to a certain point an increase in numbers forces people to form a more complex society, beyond this point—which we call the saturation point—we get retrogression. The curve of diminishing returns illustrates the principle. It is entirely hypothetical and does not in any way attempt to set the actual point where diminished social contacts per capita begin, or where social returns—from a given amount of psychic energy—start to decrease. Such a point can be determined only by a large number of surveys.

The main differentiation which rural sociologists made in the past between city and rural society was that of physical-space-density, without a consideration of either the social or the time-density. Thus city society, with its density ten to one hundred times as great as that of the rural area, could maintain a complex and specialized society. Because of the lack of geographical density in the country, isolation and social starvation are inevitable. Uneconomic-sized organizations seem bound to result. This conception does not consider sufficiently the change brought about by rapid transportation and easy communication; so we need the notion of *sociological density,* which may be defined as *the number of individuals who can associate without an undue expenditure of time and effort.*

The auto does not narrow the *space* between the homes, but narrows the *time.* If our automobile community is eight miles in radius, we have approximately 200 square miles as a possible social community, even the remoter members of which are but one-half hour from the social center.

With a density of 10 per square mile we should have a constituency of 2000. With a (more likely) density of 20 per square mile, we should have 4000.

This is sufficient to provide the optimum number of members in churches, clubs, and community associations, and to obtain specialized leadership. The city neighborhood of this size, while covering far less area, is full of cliques and social classes which reduce the social density by artificially eliminating many families.

Rapid transportation enables us to have *social* density without *geographical* density, thereby avoiding the risk of lowering standards of life. Dense populations tend to press upon resources and thus put into operation "positive checks" which endanger progress. We have noted the importance of the economic, machine-agriculture farm, which means that we shall have a sparse rural population. To sacrifice this advantage in order to have geographical density would be short-sighted. Thanks to gravel roads and automobiles, we can attain the optimum-sized social area without over-peopling the country-side.

THE SHIFT OF ASSOCIATIONAL PLANES AND THE GENESIS OF CASTE SPIRIT IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN COMPARING DIFFERENT-SIZED COMMUNITIES

As a factor in socialization the type of civilization in the community trade center is more important than the population size of the community. In the true city social cleavage develops between farmer and city man. With a city of 9000 population, the farmer in the trade area is scarcely a 5 percent participator in its social organizations. Within this small city, as contrasted with the small town or village community, there is a growth of caste and class spirit which interferes with free association and the development of maximum social density. The people are within *physical* touch, but not within *social* touch. Hence we should expect the best social conditions to be reached before we get the urban-rural community with its social cleavage. These best should be found in the village community.

THE SOCIAL EFFICIENCY OF THE HAMLET, THE VILLAGE, AND THE SMALL CITY COMMUNITY COMPARED

The contact between farmers and townsmen in the various types of communities. Most observers recognize that the farmer may trade and

bank in the small city, but that he will, in only a few instances, mingle freely with city society. The small city has the tone of the city—its styles, its customs, its commercial philosophy, its capitalism, and its caste spirit. The farmer occupies a back seat in the city church and in the city amusement association. He is seen but not heard. Many writers would put the ratio between the farmer and city man in the city organizations as 5 to 95. The small city is independent of the farmer as far as leadership, adequate membership of organizations, and personnel go. The very efficiency of the city department store will insure the farmer's trade from which, of course, the city draws a considerable profit. Only in the case of the more wealthy 5 percent does the farmer's wife find herself at home in the city club. Thus, while, with paved roads, the contact develops in an economic way, it increases very slowly in a social way.

In the village or small town, it is a "fifty-fifty" proposition. There is too small an aggregation of business men and professional men to fix city culture upon the community. Without the leadership of the farmer in the surrounding country, hundreds of small town organizations would speedily close their doors. Most of the small town organizations surveyed in Western Iowa had a 50 percent farmer-and-farm-wife constituency; so much so, that the merchant, the banker, the doctor, the minister, and the school superintendent, who deal primarily with farmers, find that it pays to be saturated with farm talk and rural psychology. Thus, in the small town and village, where the farmer and townsman commingle freely, caste spirit is at a minimum.

In the hamlet leadership is 90 to 5 in favor of the farmer. Many of the business men in the hamlet run a farm on the outskirts of the one small square. They are farmers in spirit and in manner. Thus, in one hamlet the station agent, the merchant, the postmaster, the livestock shipper also farm. The agglomeration of a few farm homes and the locating of a railroad shipping station form the hamlet. City civilization is far away from the hamlet, which is typically a farmers' society.

THE CONTACTS PER CAPITA FOUND WITHIN DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

Many believe that there is more social life within the large community with its urban center, because this extended society has more contacts, larger crowds, and more institutions. They should recognize, however, that these must be distributed among more people, and that the only true and just basis of judgment is the number of social contacts per capita.

The evenness of distribution of these contacts should also be considered. In the city, a relatively small class has the bulk of the high-grade contacts, while the great mass is socially starved. Within the rural community the contacts are not "bunched" to such an extent. Although the survey was too limited to draw any sweeping conclusions, the facts gathered in the Western Iowa study seemed to bear out this surmise. The type A social contacts per capita were greater in the medium-sized community, where the relations between town and country were closer, and there was less caste spirit.

The medium-sized community of from 600 to 1200 population shows more type A social contacts per capita.[1] Communities 4, 5, and 6, with a population range of 800 to 1000, show 28, 75, and 28 type A social contacts per capita. (These contacts per capita are roughly estimated by dividing the type A social contacts coming through the principal institutions by the total population.) Communities 1 and 2, with population of 2000 and 2200 (population includes town and trade area) showed 22 and 26 type A social contacts per capita, respectively. In spite of the fact that many people in the smaller towns attend many functions in the larger towns, and that the reverse is not so true, the difference would still be greatly in favor of the medium-sized town. Within the city, with its greater gap between classes, more impediments to free association appear. Moreover, it should be noted that the per capita contacts in a community fall below the average contacts of individuals, because reading contacts, play contacts, hunting and fishing contacts, etc., are not computed in the medium-sized community.

Several factors tend to account for the apparently greater number of type A social contacts per capita in the medium-sized community.

1. A larger number and variety of specialized organizations existed within the larger communities, but on account of the fact that these organizations led to the segregation of certain cliques, they did not, to any large degree, patronize each other. Such organizations tended to have a small select membership of certain families, and so became inbred with certain ideals. They were exclusive rather than inclusive. Hence it is easy for a large number of small cliques and closed-in groups to develop in the small city community.

2. Within the small hamlet-sized community, there is not a sufficient number of people with any one type of interest or ability to perfect an

[1] Hawthorn, H. B., *The Social Efficiency of Rural Iowa Communities*, Chap. VII, pp. 6-12. Also see Chap. VI. (Unpublished Thesis, on file at University of Wisconsin Library.)

efficient organization. A bare half-dozen of people can be found to organize a lodge, literary society, or choral society. These may meet a few times, but because of the lack of the stimulus of personal competition, the rivalry, and the sub-conscious urge of co-operating numbers, they fall apart. To get a practical-sized organization, the hamlet has to draw on luke-warm or half-enthusiastic people, who soon tire, and damp the ardor of the few leaders. Each leader must play in many rôles. Between those of equal age and mental ability there can be little competition, little gradation, and little division of labor. The mortality rate of hamlet organizations is high. A study of families within the area of a small village composed mostly of farmers, revealed the fact that 75 percent of the families "cranked up" their autos and journeyed to larger communities for much of their social life. The only "going" organizations in community number 3 were a church and a farm union. Naturally, thousands of social contacts were contributed to other communities by the residents of this community. Thirty to forty-five minutes of "autoing" would give them access to at least three medium-sized communities, with larger, more enthusiastic organizations. Here they could associate with congenial folks. In the day of the buggy or wagon, these hamlet dwellers were limited to this one community. It was up to them to stay by its organizations and adjust themselves to their propinquity associations, or else condemn themselves to social starvation. With an automobile for every five people, there is little chronic isolation in rural social areas.

3. The medium-sized community is large enough to maintain practical-sized organizations. The necessity of a certain minimum size of organization is revealed in the Ohio Rural Life Survey [2] of Southeastern Ohio counties by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian church. Fully 72 percent of the open-country churches were not growing. Where the churches were large enough to afford services every Sunday, 47 percent were growing, but where they could afford only one service per month, only 21 percent were advancing. Most of the churches in the medium-sized communities had 150 members. The medium-sized community is not large enough to afford much division into factional groups and cliques.

4. The larger city community lacks community solidarity, since it does not need the farmer as a constituent in its organizations as does the medium-sized community. While the village community takes certain social cues from rural democratic ideals of a non-exclusive country-side, it also takes attitudes and mannerisms from the city, where cliques and

[2] *Southeastern Ohio*, Ohio Rural Life Survey, Dept. of Church and Country Life, Presbyterian Church.

exclusive society rule. The three medium-sized communities all had consolidated schools, because the town of 300 to 500 was too small a tax area to support an accredited, twelfth-grade school. These consolidated schools tended to invite the farmer into social participation in the village, and added [3] 251,000, 360,000, and 281,000 school contacts to communities 4-5, and 6, respectively. The hamlet and the city community are generally without a consolidated school. On account of the absence of strong competition, farmers' co-operative stores and banks grow more rapidly in the small town. In the larger communities surveyed, the farmer was, to a large extent, an outsider. He held his few meetings in the old country schoolhouses. In community 1 the country children still attended the old one-room, country schools, while 90 percent of the members of the town organizations were found to be town-people. Within the medium-sized communities, where town and country people were found to mingle on a fifty-fifty basis, we find a wide dispersion of social contacts among the population, and a comparatively large number of community meetings where the population turns out *en masse*.

Within the medium-sized communities, country and town need each other and must co-operate in church, club, and school. Considering the size of the community, attendance is large at all meetings—which is a result of the mutual support between farmer and townsman. The various organizations also support each other. In community 5, where a central organization had given concerted expression to this mutual dependence, the social contacts per capita exceeded all other communities. It was able to get the whole community, instead of only this or that clique, out to practically every program or event.

Since it is without the disadvantages of an over-topping, deadening, urban society on the one hand, and the handicap of small, simple organizations on the other, the medium-sized community is peculiarly adapted to organization on the basis of social efficiency. Our greatest social problem in Rural America today is the city community, since it is here that rural and urban civilizations clash, stirring up anti-city and anti-rural feeling. To sum up we may say that there is a rapid gain in the social efficiency from the hamlet up to the community of 1000 to 1200 population. After this point the community type of association splits into distinct and opposed plans of organization, the urban and the rural; while social solidarity and community consciousness segregate into two centers. The rural territory becomes a fringe about a dominating urban population, with all the social groupings of the metropolis. The farmer often is a man

[3] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, pp. 4-12.

without a community, a stranger without the gates, although in some city communities, Iowa business men have helped bridge the gap by welcoming the farmer into their councils, and showing an interest in his welfare. Farm bureaus have returned this compliment. With the advent of the automobile the country village has automatically, and often unconsciously, become the center of all social contacts. Because the farmer came to town at a time when village society was needing his financial and moral support, farmer leadership became dominant and active in all social and economic affairs. The automobile also brought the farmer to the city, but not as an active social participant; it secured his trade and banking, but not his personality or leadership.

Within the medium-sized community social contacts are more easily distributed among its individuals. The gap between the various, social-efficiency classes is not as great. The range of social contacts is much less. Within community 6, social contacts,[4] for individuals, were mostly grouped around the 600 point, while in the large communities there were two modes. One mode represented the great bulk of the under-socialized, or approximately 80 percent of the individuals, and varied around 441 annual social-contacts. The other mode varied around 739, and represented the 20 percent of the families that participated in the bulk of the social organizations. Thus, while there was a small, highly socialized group within the large communities, composed largely of business men and professional men, there was a large group of under-socialized, which more than offset the gain. The medium community had fewer in the highly-socialized group, but also fewer in the under-socialized group. On the whole, its social contacts showed a higher average in proportion to its population, indicating that the ideal-sized social community will likely range from 600 to 1200 in population.

THE APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE TO SOCIAL ENGINEERING

If the medium-sized community is the most efficient sociological machine, we have a guide for the remodeling of the structure of human society from the physical, spacial, and distance standpoint. We recognize the need of concentrating business but of decentralizing residence. Much industry can profitably be decentralized, and thus a solid economic basis laid for the medium-sized community.

If this principle is carried out, such developments as these are in order:

1. Consolidation of hamlet communities into medium-sized commu-

[4] See Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. VII.

nities, and fusion of hamlets into the larger communities which adjoin them in order to bring under-sized communities to their optimum size. This would be in accord with the principle which is applied to uneconomic-sized school districts—namely, consolidating them into the best-sized unit for efficiency. Thus the size which attains the maximum educational, religious, and social efficiency would tend to supplant the other sizes. The community would then be "sized" according to the population necessary to give the requisite personnel and talent support to the various organizations and functions needed for efficient socialization.

2. Colonization of "right-sized" communities through state patronage. The number of acres in the community corporation, and the size of the farm will be so adjusted that a social community of the optimum-size will be obtained.

3. Decentralization of certain industries into social communities of the optimum-size for efficient socialization.

4. The city will become a concentration point for professional people and their patrons, a focal point of finance, a center of commerce and of offices. At the same time, the city residential districts will gradually decentralize into suburban-neighborhood communities of the optimum size.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. What social disadvantages does the small "hamlet" community have? Can it compete with the larger community in church work? In mail distribution? As a shipping point for live stock? In school work? In opportunities for family visiting? In farm bureau work? In club work? In recreational work?
2. What social disadvantages does the larger "city" community have?
3. How may we find out the optimum-sized community for the work of socialization? If you were moving to the country, what would be the preferable size of the trade town?
4. Account for the small number of social contacts, per capita produced in the "hamlet" community. Does this mean that its people are under-socialized?

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CHAPTER XIX

PHILOSOPHIES, PRINCIPLES, AND BASES FOR RURAL SOCIAL CONTROL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

THE VALUE OF A PHILOSOPHY TO THE RURAL ORGANIZER

A philosophy of community organization is basic to scientific community building. The difference between a mere set of technical rule-of-thumb directions and a science is that the latter has a philosophy. The ordinary mechanic in a garage sets the engine timing a certain way because it is common practice; unlike the automobile engineer, who has a philosophy and science of gas engines, he cannot tell why the motor works best at the particular adjustment. The full-fledged surgeon has a philosophy of bodily maladjustments out of which his science of practical surgery develops. For a long time rural organizers and community leaders have been following an arbitrary set of rules and directions. They have been contending with the most difficult sociological tasks in human engineering without a guiding and constructive philosophy. Rural sociology in the new agricultural era must develop a sound philosophy of human society, for such is the best guarantee of the perpetuity of any civilization. Most of the trouble with rural programs rests in the prevalence of inhibiting and fallacious philosophies concerning education, religion, and rural society. These philosophies, which still lurk in our theology, politics, and sociology, and which are a barrier to community organization and rural amelioration, creep in through the guise of ready-made traditional adages, dogmas, moralizations, and platitudes.

It is from a philosophy of social organization that principles evolve which may form a basis for more detailed adaptations and applications. It is from principles that methods and techniques arise. To date we have done little to build a philosophy of rural society and community organization. Until this is done, the work cannot rise to the dignity of a science or an art. Which social philosophies should receive consideration as source material from which to derive principles of community and social organization? Which are worthy of being tested by applying their principles to community organization? We shall find that there are two or

three quite general and fundamental philosophies of society, which are replete with suggestions for community-organization technique.

THE ORGANIC THEORY OF SOCIETY

Probably there is no other philosophy which has more deeply influenced theoretical sociology than the organic philosophy. But as yet it has had few practical applications to social organization work. It involves a number of concepts which will be considered.

Society is an organism. Human society is more than a loose aggregation of individuals. A rural community is more than a compilation of homes and institutions. Societies and communities are organisms with their related parts. Just as a watch is more than a heap of metal parts, just so is the community more than its individuals and groups. It was Hobbes who compared the state to a great leviathan, a body with organs and parts. It was Spencer who compared society to an organism with its brain—government, its sustaining system—agriculture, its nervous system —communication, and its circulatory system—transportation. Few sociologists, however, would extend the simile between society and a human or animal body to the extent of inferring that there is a real social personality or mind that enjoys, hates, and fears. Actual emotions, feelings, and thought can exist only in the mind of the individual human being. Our organic theory merely means that social organization in its historical development follows much the same general laws as does biological organization in plants and animals; that individuals and groups react upon each other; and that the component parts of any society or community are related, co-ordinated, and interdependent. Like a fine motor, society is a delicate mechanism with intricate adjustments which can easily be destroyed. Out of the same type of people, a thousand different forms of societies and groups can be built, depending upon the way in which the constituent persons are related to each other. A caste society may be converted into a democracy without exporting or importing people. Society, then, is more than the individuals which compose it, just as water is more than the properties of hydrogen and oxygen. In many rural communities where church, school, and club live unto themselves and where families lead an isolated existence, there is little realization of the organic nature of their life.

Progress means the specialization of parts and functions. Just as each part of a watch or animal body is marvelously built to perform a special function, just so is every individual, group, and institution in

civilized society designed for its own peculiar work. Just as the simple one-celled plant or animal lacks specialization and performs inefficiently a multiplicity of tasks, just so does the primitive family, community, or institution do many things imperfectly.

The little one-celled paramæcium, which rows itself through the water with its waving hair-like cilia, propels, contacts, and digests with this one cell. The primitive family did everything from furniture making to surgery. The old village store did everything from handling mail to selling women's combs. The pioneer farmer was a "jack-of-all-trades." The superintendent in the old neighborhood Sunday school swept the church, led the singing, offered the prayer, took up the collection, and taught every group from the beginners to the women's Bible class. The first units of industry were unspecialized, for each craftsman made every part of the wagon which is now the product of several hundred workers. The old country doctor treated everything from brain fever to chilblains. He diagnosed and doctored a hundred types of human ills and performed all manner of surgical operations.

But, as either organisms or societies evolve, their parts differentiate and specialize. There is as much difference between primitive society and the society of today, with respect to specialization, as there is between a colony of one-celled plants and a tree.

In this age we have attained a high degree of specialization in industries, professions, and social institutions. One man does nothing but put axles on an automobile, while another does nothing but attach fenders. The man who is an eye-specialist will have nothing to do with stomach disorders. The man who teaches economics will have nothing to do with botany. Thus human beings become able to perform, with wonderful precision and speed, a particular task. In the same way our rural community is a composite of specialized institutions cultivating every interest, from the better feeding of infants to the better appreciation of American poets. In one Iowa city of 7000, there are upwards of three hundred special-interest groups with their auxiliaries. No longer will Jones do the singing, the teaching, the financing, the club work, the lecturing, and the dramatic work; for communities will gradually pool their leadership and organizational effort until each leader can be put at the work for which he is adapted. The country community, composed of people who are still carrying on comparatively unspecialized occupations, is slow to meet the trend towards specialization. But only through specialization can it attain expert and efficient service.

Specialized parts are interdependent. The penalties which nature

exacts for all life which specializes are, first, the loss of the power of regeneration, and, second, the loss of independence and self-determination. The one-celled typhoid germ can live independently of all its fellows. It can perform a multiplicity of functions. But the cell in the leaf of the tree cannot live without the cell in the root, and vice versa. Brain, heart, skin, stomach, and lungs cannot live without each other's co-operation. When the liver ceases to function, every other organ in our body suffers. Similarly, modern industry and society depend upon the proper co-ordination and functioning of all their numerous parts and organs. Every industry, every family, suffers more or less from a railroad strike, or from a breakdown of the legal mechanism of society.

Within the rural community, farmer and townsman, church and school, bank and market, trade and recreation—all are mutually interdependent. In most cases they rise and fall together. A weak church life demoralizes the school. Poor markets cut bank deposits. A falling off in the town business reduces land values. The bankruptcy of thousands of Iowa farmers means eventually the failure of dozens of banks and mercantile establishments. Even the farmer is no longer self-sufficing and independent of the world of economic and social forces. To work out his destiny and salvation inside the fence lines of his farm, is to court proportionately lower prices for his products, inadequate representation in our governmental councils, and inequitable taxation. In the social disorganization which follows a revolution, thousands of individuals may starve in a land of vast natural resources. It is preposterous to suppose that any shift or disruption of social organization could have starved the American Indian. In an age of high specialization, we must recognize the close interdependence of individuals, groups, and institutions.

In the development of organisms there is consolidation of the smaller and simpler units. Throughout biological history, we note the consolidation of cells into colonies, colonies into tissues, and these tissues into well-developed plants and animals. Throughout the history of man in human society, we witness families combining into clans, clans into tribes, and tribes into nations. In the evolution of industry we see the concentration of railroads, small factories, and mines into large "billion dollar" corporations; and the coalescing of numerous small trade unions into large federations of labor. Truly, this is an age of combination, federation, union, and consolidation. Federated women's clubs, federated labor unions, interchurch world councils, consolidated schools, and community churches are so many "straws" which "show which way the wind blows." Already we are noting the absorption of units of education, taxation, and road

administration into larger areas. Within the next two decades, thousands of uneconomic school, church, and trade areas will be combined into larger, more economic units. For every type of institution and industry, there is a point beyond which a further growth in the size of the unit means inefficiency, but only in a few instances have our rural organizations even approached this.

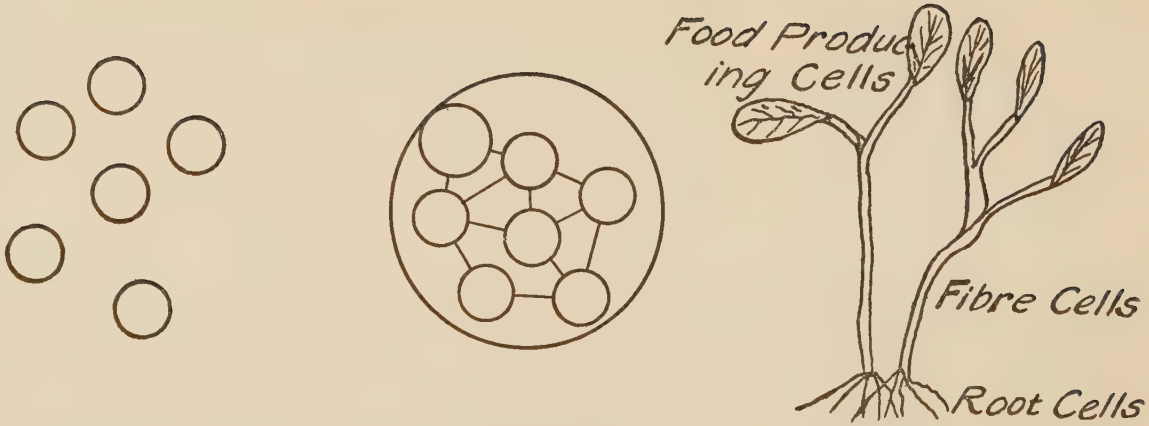
To sum up, the organic notion of society includes a biological interpretation of at least the structural and functional growth of society, and a notation of several trends to biological and sociological processes; namely, from simplicity to complexity, from independence to interdependence, from homogeneity to heterogeneity, and from generalized function to specialized function. Figure 41 visualizes the organic philosophy.

SOCIAL CONTROL [1]

The use of science to order and control the destiny of civilization, to direct consciously the development of human society, and to engineer the task of community building seems quite fanciful and radical. The average citizen sees nothing strange or impractical in the scientific control of plant and animal breeding, or in the application of the principles of botany to eradicate wheat rust. In the utilization of science to devise engines of war, public opinion sees nothing radical or unusual. But the idea of social control of human heredity, of class conflict, of rural socialization baffles the rank and file of people. A careful scrutiny of some prevalent philosophies and attitudes will reveal the antagonists of social control.

There is the classical *laissez faire* view that abhors regulation of any kind. It holds that such regulatory measures as old age pensions, social insurance, child labor laws, and factory sanitation laws are apt to interfere with the free working of such universal economic laws as free competition, or supply and demand. Rather than chance the rapid development of social control devices, the adherents of *laissez faire* would, taking their cue from Darwin's philosophy, abandon society to the cruel, "no-quarter" struggle for survival, with its régime of cut-throat competition. They have the notion that government should keep out of business whether or not business keeps out of government. They prefer abridgement of human rights and the exploitation of child life, rather than interference with the rights of the private individual to do as he pleases. Rather than guide or direct the development of rural social institutions, they would permit the community to be the prey of commercial amusements and professional "organization-sellers."

[1] See Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, Chap. XLV. The Century Co., 1920.



Cell Stage

In human society it is represented by the isolated, family-clan or the self-sufficing village community. In the Rural Community we have independent institutions.

Colony Stage

Cells join in human society. Families, villages, clans, group and develop a mutual aid system. In the Rural Community the separate institutions co-operate and help each other.

Organic Stage

Cells specialize and form structures. In human society specialized economic and social classes develop. In the Rural Community, organizations merge into a community association with specialized activities.

FIGURE 41

Biological Evolution and Social Evolution

Then there is the "Will-of-God" or "Fate-will-have-its-way" attitude that is coldly indifferent and sometimes openly rebellious to social control. The use of smallpox vaccine was, at first, opposed and practically prohibited by civil and ecclesiastical powers, because it seemed to defeat the Divine Will, which sent such plagues to punish evil-doers. And wherever we work with fatalistic peoples, we pit our scientific control measures for disease or poverty against an inflexible stoicism and a cynical indifference. That "fate ordains it" settles the matter for them. Behind the growth of society, the multiplication of human beings, the war of nations, the descent of races into poverty, is "blind determinism," into the face of which it is useless to fly. Against the "invisible course of fate" man's inventiveness is vain and powerless.

There are those, also, who worship the primitive life and the regulatory power of the natural instincts. From times immemorial social thinkers have eulogized the virtues of man in his original state, when human nature, untrammeled by artificial training and man-made laws, could create a sort of Golden Age. In the matters of marriage, buying and selling, care of children, conduct in society, instinct was the safest guide. The utmost that should be attempted in legislation was the removal of impediments to the free working of man's native impulses. The same instinctive power which directed the northward migration of geese in spring guided the destinies of human civilization.

Social control, however, would substitute man's economy for nature's economy. It would supplant the blind striving of the "cut-and-try" method—which consumes centuries in the creation of a hardy variety of wheat—by the Burbank method, which secures the same results in a few years. Instead of allowing immigration, child labor, and eugenic policies to be settled by the prejudices of bias, politics, and popular opinion, the social-control plan would decide these important issues by scientific investigation of facts. Furthermore, it would follow research into the causes of our social maladjustments with control measures, scientifically developed. In one sense, as used by some sociologists, social control contrasts the democratic control of a society by the people with an autocratic control of society by a king or military clique. In another sense, we are looking at social control as the opposite of *laissez faire,* or the attempt to guide society without the science of sociology. What the sciences of physics, chemistry, biology, and physiology have done to create a marvelous material world with radios, synthetic foods, and disease preventives, the science of human society would do to create a finer and better civilization.

Several social philosophers have developed the concept of social control. Plato was imbued with the notion of a state which would more or less scientifically direct marriages, education, and industry. He realized the limitations of human nature in its ignorant and uneducated state. Because of his organic theory of society and his reliance upon a sort of unfolding plan which determined the course of social evolution, Spencer did not develop the idea. But Ward,[2] under the caption of "telesis," set forth the concept of social control with amazing clarity and prophetic vision. He notes two sets of forces or factors that operate on human society. One set he calls the "dynamic" or "propelling"; the other set he calls the "steering" or "directive." The emotions, the feelings, the desires, and the other subjective forces are the propelling powers of humanity.

Left to itself, society, like a speeding automobile without a steersman, will plunge into obstructions and over chasms. Nature has an economy, but it is a wasteful and profligate one. There are certain eternal, immutable, and inexorable laws which operate upon any human population. But these do not produce a civilization without a fearful cost. In an age of rapid transformations these natural processes are too slow and cumbersome to be trusted with the future of mankind. Thus human intelligence must in a larger and larger measure supplant blind nature.

Man does not let nature run its course in typhoid fever. He uses antitoxins and treatments. Man does not let nature run its course in the evolution of the hog or the apple; he guides it rationally by the law of heredity. Through discovery and invention the intellect makes a much more economic arrangement of natural forces. These two agencies have been the hand-maidens of civilized progress and social evolution.

Society must have scientific direction. Society, impelled by powerful, irrational forces, will run amuck unless it has a guiding device. Most *laissez faire* experiments have proved disastrous. The fruits of this policy in England were swollen fortunes, adulterated foods, rampant monopolies, overflowing workhouses, exploitation of children, tuberculosis-breeding factories, and workers' misery. Such was the economic chaos and social derangement engendered by this system—so lauded by the earlier classical economists—that English statesmen began to abandon it by the middle of the nineteenth century. In our own United States the same philosophy of "let-our-social-economic-system-run-itself," has brought us financial panics, unrestricted immigration—often ruinous to our citizenship—city slums, unemployment, race riots, child labor, a high crime rate, and a heavy multiplication of morons and unfit. In the field of

[2] See Ward, L. F., *Pure Sociology*, pp. 462-466. The Macmillan Co., 1919.

biology the "let-nature-have-its-way" policy is equally suicidal. Suppose we abandon our corn fields and pedigreed livestock to nature; we would soon have nubbins and scrubs. In our rural communities *laissez faire* has meant an indiscriminate over-multiplication of churches, clubs, and all sorts of social agencies, with such attendant evils as antagonizing factions, wasteful sectarian rivalry, conflicting programs, and anti-community spirit. It is no marvel that astute thinkers are predicting the doom of civilization unless it espouses the scientific control of the process, propagation, and socialization of our highly organized population.

Nature may work when our task is a simple adaptation to the primitive; but she is clumsy, slow, and inadequate in making delicate adjustments to a shifting, man-made system. Even plants and animals are no longer being adapted to meet the requirements of the wild. The Iowa hog would speedily succumb if he had to compete against the razor-back in forest foraging. But he does not compete in a primeval forest; he competes in an Iowa fattening pen for an early market. Slow-moving nature, working with the sluggish process of natural selection, is fast enough when conditions remain the same for centuries at a time. But she is far too slow for man in an artificial environment where demands are constantly being changed. The environment of the American Indian remained the same for centuries, but the environment of the modern American boy does not remain the same for ten years. The Indian boy with the training of his father could be successful; but who would have the rashness to say that our present generation of boys would be equipped for life with their fathers' education? Wherever our adjustments and adaptations must be intricate, rapid, and accurate, and where the life of a complex social organism is at stake, science must be called upon. And so every breeder of grain or livestock is interfering with fate and natural selection when, in the name of economic demands, he consciously uses artificial, scientifically-directed selection of high-producing strains.

Again, man's original instincts are wanting and incompetent as regulators of human conduct in a complex society. Modern communication has juxtaposed polyglot peoples and races; moral degenerates and morons, devoid of natural inhibition of impulses, have increased; private property, engendering poverty and riches, has increased the friction and jealousy between economic classes; co-operative societies, demanding much restraint of native selfishness, have multiplied. And with all this strain upon human nature, we have, even in these modern times, a biological man who is not much different from the cave man. And to-day, continual havoc is being wrought by unleashed instincts. The sex impulse, under

the impositions of artificial city life, gives rise to vice and prostitution; the parental motive, unregulated, results in over-sized families; the impulse of pugnacity brings about fearful wars. Shaped by natural conditions these blind desires are incapable of adjusting themselves to the changing demands of our rapidly evolving high-speed civilization.

Thus, in this civilization, our cave-man nature gives way to destructive passions. Impulses must be buttressed and reinforced by social standards, laws, and conventions. All individuals in society do not slip at the same time, any more than do all the members of a "roped-together" party which scales the Matterhorn. And so when individual morality and original human nature fail, we resort to a social control that operates through public opinion, education, religion, and social legislation.

Social control is difficult to impose. The control of men and their groups takes us into the field of active adaptation, where we are working not with passive, non-resistant objects, but with beings equipped with wills of their own. It is one thing to induce farmers to try a fungus-destroying spray on their apple trees; it is another to induce them to try a system of eugenics upon themselves. Trees have no wills, and so do not object to being experimented upon. Not so with communities, organizations, or people; for they generally register strenuous objections, unless assured beyond all doubt of the favorable results of the experiment. When the plant pathologist discovers a control measure for rust or blight, he can put it into immediate operation. On the other hand, the sociologist who works out a control measure for poverty or crime must await the long tortuous process of "educating public opinion." It is still an open question whether we shall be able to convert society to the use of social control measures against poverty, vice, crime, war, and mental degeneracy in time to save civilization. For far more time is given in the average school curriculum to the study of plant and animal diseases than to the diseases and maladjustments which destroy civilized society.

To the rural sociologist, social control means scientifically planned and executed community building. Rather than let our community social agencies sprout up in a haphazard way, the social-control advocate would guide community growth through surveys, and scientifically derived methods of community organization. Through efficiency tests of the socializing power of different methods and types of co-ordinating organizations, and through the development of socializing activities, a more economic and effective plan would be devised. Out of the present chaos of duplicating agencies and misused effort would come order. Instead of the community blindly feeling its way forward, it would, with a real

knowledge of its maladjustments, work towards definite goals. There will be an engineering art developed for rural sociology, distinct from the "cut-and-dried" method, which will enormously reduce the time taken by the community in evolving through its various stages. While one goal of social engineering will be to perfect the individual organization as a socializing mechanism, another aim will be to construct a general community organization.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MUTUAL AID [3]

Animals, barbarians, and civilized men are not fundamentally antagonistic and truculent towards each other; they are naturally helpful and sociable. Such thinkers as Kropotkin have contrasted another principle—the more or less instinctive tendency to assist one another—with the Darwinian battle of tooth and claw. Out of this philosophy of mutual aid are derived most of our teachings of co-operation. To many it presages the coming of an era of co-operation that shall take the place of destructive competition between community groups, economic classes, and nations.

The evidences of the existence of sociability and mutual aid are far more numerous than the average man believes. Wolves, crows, monkeys, in fact most species of wild animals, will come to each other's aid. Most of us have watched horses gnaw each other's neck to relieve itching. Each horse seems to realize that the top of his neck is inaccessible, except to another horse. Only in the heat of battle are savages ferocious; naturally they are sociable and prone to render timely aid to their fellows who are in distress. Numerous instances are mentioned by missionaries, travelers, and ethnologists in which primitive tribes rebuild homes which have burned, nurse the helpless sick, and care for orphaned children.

And evidences of mutual aid are not wanting in modern times. In such settlements as the Dunkers, we find much financial assistance rendered members of the community. In times of stringency, mortgages are not summarily foreclosed on deserving young farmers. Instead, the unfortunates are helped by the older members of the community. In other communities mutual aid takes the form of threshing rings, meat rings, and sickness assistance. In the Amana society the system expands into communal property relations. But in every case we have, through race or religious tradition, a strong social solidarity which is missing from the ordinary heterogeneous community. Most of these communities are set-

[3] See Kropotkin, Prince, *Mutual Aid.* McClure and Phillips Co., New York, 1902.

tled collectively as well as through conscious planning. In many newly-settled neighborhoods we note institutions which denote the presence of this mutual aid system: 1. A large number of co-operative associations functioning in the business field; 2 barn raising and house raising; 3 neighbor nursing; 4 exchange of work; 5 provisioning of young married couples; 6 loaning of equipment; 7 financial concessions and special advantages to members of the community—financial assistance in time of stringency.

Mutual aid is a strong factor in the struggle for survival. Not alone to the strong nor the swift is the race, but to the sociable as well. The greatest force in the struggle for survival has been, not the capacity to fight individually, but rather to pull together. Team-work won in prehistoric times as it is winning today. It is notable that the races of prehistoric men were not giants; it is likely that the races of giants, were there any, succumbed to races which developed enough sociability for co-operation.

The American farmer with his fertile land and easy prosperity has never been forced to co-operation as a life-and-death matter as was the farmer of Germany or Denmark for whom competition was severe and conditions were hard. The era is approaching when organization will determine whether the corn, cotton, or fruit farmer will survive as an independent land owner. Hitherto, it has been a matter of strong, self-reliant individualism. To meet this, education was almost wholly along the line of individual efficiency, rather than social and economic efficiency. The farmer does not, even yet, clearly recognize that the agricultural business of the United States cannot successfully be run by six and one-quarter millions of isolated individuals. Without any concerted effort as a class, a régime of cut-throat competition prevails. One farmer acts as a pace-setter for another in living standards as well as in pay for his agricultural labor. Out of this régime come many of the evils which the farmer complains of. During times of over-production, his only relief is the elimination of a fraction of his fellows who are not financially well entrenched. Until recently the farmer has never conceived of the philosophy of mutual aid on a national scale. He has never projected onto a larger scale the system of mutual aid which he practices in his neighborhood. The local guilds of laborers, organizations which practiced mutual aid in medieval times, have widened into great national federations. This same principle of survival holds in the case of agricultural communities. Most of the communities that survive where nature is rigorous and niggardly are "mutual aid communities." We marvel at the ability of the

Mormons to make the desert blossom in the irrigated districts. We wonder at the ability of the Dunkers in Iowa to enrich a community with modern homes, beautiful churches, first-class agriculture, and consolidated schools. We marvel at their ability to weather financial storms. The secret is in their system of mutual aid and community solidarity. Where communities composed of individualistic families and clans fail, the mutual-aid communities attain the highest degree of agricultural efficiency. The communities in Iowa which are resisting disintegration are those which have developed a considerable amount of community spirit.

Mutual aid as a motive for organization. While the organic theory of society, with its grandiose scheme of evolution, may appeal to the scientific mind as the fundamental reason for and basic philosophy of organization, and while social control may invite the sociologist, the bulk of people are appealed to on the more human and tangible basis of mutual aid. Industry, moved by the demands of scientific efficiency rather than by emotion, organizes itself as a huge, organic machine of related parts. Division of labor and speed are practiced in the name of efficiency, although they may cramp personality. We cannot make that impersonal, brutal approach to the organization of human society for culture and socialization.

The organicist will point out that the main purpose of organization is to secure consolidation, co-ordination, and specialization of function.

The advocate of rigorous social control will show that such control is the only logical application of this notion. However, the mutual-aid thinker sees in organization a value that has a much deeper human basis. This is the principle that mutual-aid protection can be secured through organization, although nothing may be gained in the way of specialization or consolidation.

Insurance is built upon the mutual-aid philosophy. Although the farmers in a mutual fire insurance company do not physically build the neighbor's house which has burned, they contribute the funds to hire a contractor to build it. This premium comes out of the part of their salary, or income, which ordinarily goes for incidentals and luxuries, and so does not impose the strain that the worry over a possible heavy loss would inflict. All houses will not burn at the same time, but over a large area an almost constant percentage burns each year, since mass events follow the curve of probability. Fraternal societies and lodges organize so that the mutual aid can be definitely worked out in detail, made a part of the ritual, and rendered obligatory. Alongside of this practice, the spirit of sociability and neighborliness finds a fine soil. Various races and

industrial classes have their relief and mutual-aid guilds, all of which found themselves upon the same principle. In this principle, which democratic rural communities develop so strongly, we have a strong motive to start organization work.

Mutual aid has its limitations as a basis for organizing rural communities today. To keep up the mutual-aid psychology, there must be a face-to-face contact in the rendition of services. There is a big difference between the reconstruction of my house by neighbors and the same service rendered by professional carpenters. There is not the feeling of fraternity and neighborliness when my sick bill is paid by people a thousand miles away, functioning through a life insurance company and guided by a mathematical law of averages. The receipt of an insurance premium never engenders the same gratitude as when the neighbor himself reports to husk the corn or build the barn.

Furthermore, to meet the needs of our modern highly specialized society, even in the country, there must be a resort to professional and expert service which is surer, more reliable, and more efficient than neighbor service. The trained nurse may not have the same affection for the family as the neighbor nurse, but her professional code of ethics demands that she be a hundred percent efficient. The fact that her mind is free from over-emotionalism and her manner deliberate, makes it possible to render expert service at critical moments. While the log-cabin could be satisfactorily erected by neighbor aid, the modern home, with its plumbing and heating system demands expert work. The farmer who specializes with pure-blooded stock or on dairying will find it more profitable to invest his time in his own profession and to hire much of the work done which was previously prosecuted to utilize waste time. The farmer who has been brought in touch with city professional work by the auto and telephone is freely patronizing the eye specialist, the trained nurse, the auto mechanic, the decorator, the painter, and the well-man. At the same time we have the decay of the clan neighborhood through communication. To a large extent the clan spirit has been the basis of mutual aid. Today, mutual aid is found in its primitive state only in recently settled areas, or in clan settlements.

We shall need to organize neighborliness, and institute activities that take the place of mutual aid. Such co-operative activities as threshing and meat rings, visiting the sick, and doing chores for invalid neighbors will still be a part of the program of every rural organization that expects to promote neighborly good-will. Rural people will be encouraged to take an interest in each other's affairs as a community rather than as a neighbor-

hood, and to perform acts of mutual kindness and helpfulness. Though the same spirit will be there, the institutional form of expression will change with the evolution of rural society. Mutual-aid possibilities will continue to be emphasized by many social and economic institutions as one of the gains of organization.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The organizer should work with the laws of social progress. The community engineer studies very carefully the general trends of social development, for he realizes that his community is, in many respects, but a miniature society. Accordingly, he will adapt his long-time program to the needs of more organic unity, greater specialization of function, the consolidation of small groups, the growth of the co-operative, or mutual-aid spirit, and the increasing desire for a democratic system of social relations. In many cases the practical organizer, who has "rule-of-thumb" directions but lacks science or philosophy, will waste much effort in struggling against the tides of social evolution. The community engineer, on the other hand, will take advantage of these tides to "float out" his projects.

Dormant interests and motives should be given group expression. A careful search in any rural community will reveal famishing interests which lack the stimulus of social recognition. In a way they are like a series of mountain lakes that are ready to set electric power plants into motion as soon as they are tapped by a conduit. Some communities need a "live-wire" church to arouse the latent religious interest; others need a parent-teachers group to bring to life the parental interest. As drops of water, each with a small electric charge, accumulate to form the thunder cloud, just so do individuals, each with a low interest-potential, unite in organizations to form a powerful institution of propaganda, enthusiasm, and influence. Some communities over-cultivate certain interests by a whole battery of organizations, while they leave others to die a lingering death. In every case our guide to organization should be a careful survey of repressed desires.

The community may be interpreted as the focal point of converging rays of instinct and interest. Shepherd [4] classifies these interests as follows: the child community, which grows out of the child interest; the parent community, which grows out of the interests that nucleate around parenthood; the religious community, which centers about religious prob-

[4] Shepherd, R., *Essentials of Community Efficiency,* Chap. I.

lems, etc. Thus, if we arrange these interests in one column, we may set opposite them the appropriate organizations and institutions which give them organized expression.

Health	Red Cross.
Parenthood	Child Welfare and Infant Welfare Association.
Religion	The Church.
Fraternity	The Lodge.
Education	The School, the Library, the Study Club.
Agriculture	The Farm Bureau. The Grange.
Business	The Commercial Club.
Citizenship	The Civic League. The Women-Voters' League.
Adolescence	Boys' and Girls' Clubs.

In every community some interests will be over-expressed, while other interests will famish for the want of group cultivation. Many groups and institutions languish because they express 19th-century rather than 20th-century needs, or because their activity does not follow the line of vital interests. Because some uncontrolled instincts are evil in their social manifestations, some organizations believe it to be their duty to suppress them, and so ruthlessly mutilate human nature. Further, does the organization that professes to express a certain interest actually do it? Many organizational attitudes and programs do not square with their professed interests.

Groves,[5] in his *Rural Mind and Social Welfare,* places considerable emphasis upon the rural instincts and their adequate expression. Very few motives can express themselves in isolation, and so must receive their expression in some form of social organization. Without control and canalization by planned organizations, they may function destructively. Without the Boy Scouts—a controlled, socialized expression of the gregarious motive—the back-alley gang appears. In the same way as before, we may arrange the motives in one column, and their appropriate expressional agencies in the other.

Curiosity	A Nature Study Club. Club for Studying Community History.

[5] Groves, E. R., *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare,* pp. 1-11, 172-175. University of Chicago Press, 1922.

Collecting	A Camera Club. A Stamp-Collection Society.
Music	Community-Music Association.
Play	Playground Association.

Most organizations attempt to maintain activities which minister to these various motives in a greater or less degree. But effectively to minister to all of them is generally beyond the resources of any one organization unless it is run upon a community scale. The community association, with its various leaders and committees upon recreation, religion, morals, lectures, study, music, and drama, is in a position to deal more intensively with the organization of the various interests and instincts.

The development of a definitely-felt need should precede the organization of an interest or activity. Every new movement, every new institution, must go through its "propaganda" or "hot-air" stage in order to create a real desire for it upon the part of the public. Too many organizations are short-lived because they are foisted onto a community and therefore have no local support. And many excellent plans for community improvement fail because people do not understand them. For the success of any plan, adequate time should be given for publicity.

In short, devices for "selling" the people on any new proposition, whether it be a consolidated school or a playground, must be devised. Open forums, newspaper articles, debates, and sermons greatly expedite the "talk-it-up" stage, and help to prevent decision upon the basis of demagogic bombast, hearsay, and sentimental gossip. If the new organization or activity will not stand the "acid test" of facts and surveys, it has no place in the community. The constructive effort need have no fear of intensive discussion which gives the opposition a chance to "shoot its bolt" before the project itself is launched.

Organization policies should be determined democratically, but executed expertly. This is an age of democracy. Among nations we see the demand for self-determination and increase of suffrage upon the part of the people; in church conferences we witness the growing power of the laity; in colleges we note student movements for more control over college affairs.

Many well-conceived community associations have suffered defection among their members because of undemocratic methods of deciding issues. Rural people are quick to scent what they term "self-seeking," "family dictatorship," "nepotism," "railroading," and "domination from above." In every community are self-styled leaders who are looking for a chance

to "run an organization" and to enhance their prestige. To accomplish this they often "clap together" a showy, spectacular program which will advertise their popularity temporarily. And unless precautionary measures are used by the organizer, his whole scheme will be dubbed as promotional. Democracy in organization demands:

1. That membership requirements be as broad and liberal as comports with the maintenance of organizational standards.

2. That every member should have a chance to speak and vote on all vital issues. The community church movement typifies this principle of extending equal suffrage to all.

3. That a decision on major issues should be fairly and adequately brought before all members after due notification. Secret meetings and mock publicity foster "secret wire-pulling."

On the other hand, policies must have expert and ready execution. A nation decides to fight a sea-battle, but only one admiral can direct the fleet. The church may decide to buy a piano, but an economical purchase can only be made by a special commitee that can judge musical instruments. The community association democratically plans a pageant, but the details must be worked out by specialists. To leave the execution of financial, publicity, social, and educational work to a large cumbersome committee or general assembly means only delay and waste.

Thus, the ideal type of community organization will combine democratic determination of constitutions, policies, and officials with the expert administration of the projects and programs by specialized committees. Experts may draft and suggest programs as long as the entire membership passes upon them.

The community must be organized to utilize volunteer work. Volunteer work, as well as expert work, will have its place in the organization of community effort. The public will never support as many lines of club work, Boy Scout work, playground work, choral work, and family case work as it has need for. Volunteer workers had to demonstrate the value of county agent work before a tax was levied for its support. In certain instances private organizations finance the work with the advantage that it is kept out of municipal and county politics.

Still, a large amount of our community social work must be done without compensation. The salaried minister cannot do the work of ten men and build a comprehensive church program; neither can the paid county agent perform single-handed the farm bureau work of a county. For some time to come, Girls' Campfire work, social service work, and dramatic work must be handled largely by volunteers. Moreover, we give

the modern woman, with her smaller family and labor-saving conveniences, a chance for avocational expression.

It is, of course, likely that we shall tend towards more paid workers of the professional type, as the appreciation of social and recreational activities rises, and as volunteer work disappoints. When reliability, persistence at irksome tasks, and expert skill are required, we must rely upon the paid leader. When fires attack log cabins, the hastily organized bucket-brigade may be adequate, but when they attack a city block of tall buildings, such an organization is futile.

On the other hand, we organize our educational and community work in order to raise the efficiency of volunteer work. Unpaid volunteer service does not break down because it is uncompensated, but because it is too often untrained and not specifically delegated with authority. To bridge this gap between the need of a service and the paid worker, colleges and extension departments are giving leadership courses to farmers and farmers' wives. Some of these are given to regular four-year students who expect to work as teachers in rural schools or on the farm. Others are given for three or four days at county seat towns to a group of picked leaders from various local cities in the county. The volunteer leader, however, should never be assigned continuous tasks which almost demand the steady efforts of a paid worker. Finally, the volunteer worker may perform his task under the direction of the professional, and thus secure activities within the range of his ability. In many country activities, such as scouting, church work, and county agent work, we see ten or a dozen volunteers co-operating with one paid leader. We shall not dispense, perhaps, with the volunteer, but we shall train him and adjust his work to that of the expert.

If we are to utilize volunteer work effectively, we must change from the discipline of force to the discipline of persuasion and suggestion. Volunteer workers cannot be handled by military methods or under the same psychology as is used in dealing with hirelings. Ross [6] states, "Unpaid workers cannot be disciplined by the crude methods of reprimand, fine, lay-off, demotion, or dismissal, but must be reached through *esprit de corps* or conscience. . . . A heavy hand on Red Cross volunteers or friendly visitors will in the end disrupt the organization. . . . In the religious order, the priesthood, the ministry, or the foreign mission, the fulcrum for authority is the solemn vow by which one has freely surrendered one's self to God and the acceptance of this vow by the order, church, or mission board." The enthusiasm and spirit of these workers

[6] Ross, E. A., *op. cit.*, p. 255.

must be maintained by worthy recognition at the right times, and by every appreciation and consideration of their work. This is their only pay, and should be freely given. Through volunteer workers we are able to extend service much closer to the people, and so adapt it to local conditions. At the same time, this type of service avoids much of the danger of commercialization. Whenever a service is paid for, we have the danger of commercialization and the entry of the motive of profit. This has been a serious trouble in many organizations with paid officers. Bribery, graft, corruption, and misuse of funds are avoided under the volunteer system.

At all times the problem of maintaining morale and enthusiasm among volunteers is important. Reaction always follows upon action. Every movement or work has its dark days when there is defection from the ranks of unpaid workers. When we are working with human beings, morale becomes extremely vital. Several methods have been successfully used to maintain spirit at critical moments.

1. Prizes and insignia which give recognition of worthy services may be given out upon public occasions.
2. The opportunity for promotion.
3. Occasional publicity in the newspaper.
4. Maintenance of individual freedom and initiative.

There are many workers who receive a psychic reward in having occasional opportunities of developing their own ideas and plans. Since the danger of killing initiative is ever present, the person assigned to lead a particular line of activity should be given the opportunity of picking his own helpers. There is always the danger, in using the recall and the referendum, that the worker may hesitate in working out his own ideas. Instead, he is apt to stick quite closely to the conventional ways.

The type of organization should be adapted to the type of community. Every community is a case with its own history, traditions, and organizational composition. Just as the family case-worker makes a diagnosis before mapping out a treatment, just so must the social engineer analyze each community before planning out a development program. Only in a general sense is there any standard system of organizing communities. Certainly, we should follow sound principles and work toward ideal ends; yet, the extent to which we can achieve the goal in five years depends upon the class of community with which we are dealing. Some communities have racial or religious factions of long standing which must be taken into account when launching community-wide projects. Unless he is careful, the organizer will "poke up old sores," and so get antagonism

rather than constructive effort. And finally, any organizer who does not know the key organizations or leaders is apt to waste much valuable time and effort. The method of making such a community analysis is treated in the next chapter.

The organizer should work out new community programs through the younger age-groups. Many ardent leaders waste much effort and enthusiasm in their endeavor to convert the older people of a community to their plan. Such a policy is unwise in many ways. In the first place few people over thirty-five years of age change their minds as far as general attitudes and policies are concerned. They are usually tradition-bound and suspicious of the new. In the second place these older persons adapted their leadership to the old institutions of 1890 or 1900 and hesitate to compete according to the new rules of 1927. The old fireman who is expert with horses is loath to see the entry of the motor fire-engine. The man who could effectively lead the old-time husking bee is slow in welcoming the newer social entertainments. In the third place the period of active work of the older generation is small. The youth who is won for the community development scheme has a long period of activity ahead of him.

Thus the wise organizer will build much of his program with the children and young people. He is then working with plastic minds that readily adapt themselves to new forms of activities. Generally the elders will back the program of their young people. Some of the former, who still keep their minds and attitudes youthful and forward-looking, will actively co-operate with the program of youth.

The co-operation of leaders and talented persons can often be secured more easily than the co-operation of organizations. A group of officials coming together representing churches, lodges, farm bureaus, farm unions, and women's clubs will naturally think of their intrenched, institutional interests with the result that organizational patriotism paralyzes community effort. If, on the other hand, citizens with a tolerant nature and not picked as representing organizations come together, they think of themselves as individual, community citizens. Thus it is often possible to form a round table conference of leaders where it would be impossible to obtain team-work between officials of organizations who are often jealous of their traditions and prerogatives.

Furthermore, many organizations have reactionary groups which thwart any movement towards co-operation with other organizations. The selection of representative leaders in the community prevents this inhibiting action on the part of the anti-social.

The efforts of the various social agencies of the community should be co-ordinated and unified. Taking our cue from the organic philosophy of human relations, community institutions should not live apart and develop programs which work at cross purposes. Conflicting activities, duplicating services, wasteful effort, and over-organization result where no effort is made to co-ordinate church, farm bureau, and women's club programs. Most communities are in an organized condition and in need of some device which will link the effort of their leadership together. The details are left to another chapter.

Leadership should be consolidated and specialized. Many communities have a dozen leaders who do everything from leading singing to directing debates. If the organizer could succeed in pooling this leadership, effort could be specialized.

A community program should be built gradually. The shift from organizational effort to community effort and from institutional programs to community programs requires new attitudes, viewpoints, and habits upon the part of rural people. Few communities are ready for a full-fledged community program given in "one dose." And for this reason, rural communities must be educated to unified effort by degrees. Perhaps the first year community dramatics or singing can be "sold." If this effort succeeds, the deduction is that other community-sponsored projects will succeed. And special care should be exercised in selecting a type of project or activity that already has some popularity, and which is easy to put on a community basis.

No activity or organization should rest upon one personality. In every state, hundreds of organizations perish because a particular leader dies or moves away. One of the largest farm bureaus in the Middle West dwindled to almost nothing because of the death of one woman. Too many leaders prefer to do the work of ten people rather than to set ten people to work. Every worker vitally interested in the future welfare of his organization should seriously question himself as to whether he has one or more understudies who can, in case of his absence, successfully conduct the organization.

A provision should be made for the adequate development and expression of community thought. When one autocrat is doing the thinking and executing, thought organization is a simple matter. But where we have democratic determination of policy, there must be devices to permit the proper discussion and present the necessary information. By such devices can community thought be made efficient. Just what process does a community go through in deciding upon the consolidated school

issue? How does a community think? How do country people arrive at their conclusions about current problems and approach the point where they exercise collective will? This is a point of extreme significance. Most rural communities have only the most archaic type of thought organization. Hearsay, tradition, custom, and opinions of elders still prevail. In some communities newspapers do the thinking. In other places decisions are based on gossip and hearsay. Again, certain demagogues give the cue for voting or making decisions. In other communities there is a debate or open forum upon vital questions. In some communities questions are settled by various individuals who talk in knots around the grocery store or garage. Since these knots of men on the street have no means of knowing the facts, the demagogue has his chance. Because communities have a few individuals who can think, we should not assume that they can reason collectively.

Certain principles and purposes should guide us in the organization of community thinking.

1. The accuracy of any judgment, whether individual or social, is no better than the information upon which it is based. Group intelligence can never be produced by crowding together ignorant individuals; in fact, even such sane ideas as might be possessed by a few in the crowd would succumb to accentuated emotionalism. So often in popular decisions, amplified ignorance wrecks carefully conceived plans. Thus, if its thinking is to be properly directed, the community must have agencies such as educational films, lectures, book shelves, bulletin files, and exhibits, for disseminating scientific data and information. If the question of hard-surfaced roads is coming up, the organizer should proceed to secure educational material, place it in an accessible locality, and, if necessary, set committees at work to report upon it. If such precautions are taken, the leader will not face such attitudes as germinate from misinformation. At the deliberative meeting, decisions will be made, not upon hearsay, but upon scientific evidence. Before any important issue comes to a community vote, it is well to give an airing to the facts on both sides.

Certain agencies may be brought into play for this publicity work. Many newspapers, dailies as well as weeklies, are running personal-opinion columns. Most country-town papers are glad to give space for articles on local problems. In this way community leaders are encouraged to think out live issues and crystallize popular sentiment. In many instances open newspaper columns are superior to the editorial column in developing true viewpoints, for too often the editorials reflect a one-man opinion, and one side of the question is likely to receive most of the space. Few rural

communities make sufficient use of their local newspaper in revealing the will of the community, and in stimulating thought on important issues.

Whether it be the gift of some minister who turns over his pulpit to discussion of local problems, or whether it be the volunteered platform of the parent-teachers' association, the public forum will prove an invaluable agency in registering both the thought and the will of the community. Few communities are giving the minds of their people a chance to manifest themselves in this wholesome and open way. In such cases gossip, hearsay, and "underground wire-pulling" decide the course of action. The rural community takes a decided forward step when it installs a forum where questions of all sorts can be presented.

2. Group thinking goes astray without guidance.

We have called attention to the desirability of furthering discussion of new movements. It is also evident that individuals think more dynamically in small discussion groups, especially when the members are intellectually sympathetic. Thus every discussion group should have a chairman who can keep the "ball from going out of bounds," and who can give every individual a hearing,—yet keep the thought advancing. This "thought general" should have material with which he can inform himself on the main questions and problems involved.

3. Much specialized and detailed thinking is beyond the information and patience of the large group. In order to forestall difficulty of this kind, the wise organizer will clearly demarcate questions which should come before the general assembly and those which should be delegated to carefully selected committees. Many a rural organization has been killed by dragging the entire audience, old and young, through a business session of parliamentary red tape. So there is a need of defining the organization problem. Shall the farm bureau celebrate the Fourth of July and invite all its members to bring lunch baskets for a family picnic? This is a question in which the entire membership is directly interested. It should be settled only after a general vote. Shall the membership dues be advanced to one dollar? This again is a question for the consideration of the entire organization. What form of decoration should be used on the booths at the celebration? Who should be called upon for aid in transportation? These are detailed questions which should be left for special committees, who have special knowledge for settling such problems, to decide.

The entire school district electorate, after a sufficient notification, votes on the matter of issuing bonds for a new schoolhouse; the board, however, picks the architect, lets the contract, and hires the carpenters. Even the

board does not decide as to just how the piping shall be installed, but leaves this detail to the professional plumber. The efficient organization not only extends the ballot to the people and membership, as far as they are directly affected in major details, but provides the information necessary for a wise vote.

4. Although nine-tenths of the community do little analytical thinking, they are not satisfied unless the issue is subjected to inquiry and discussion. Ten percent of any populace is usually a high estimate of the number who will take time to think a proposition through without prejudice or bias. Yet if these few "key people" are organized into an effective forum, debating society, or discussion group, they can wield an enormous influence. In one sense they become the brains of the community; in another sense, they form a sort of thought laboratory to which the community can subject all sorts of schemes, panaceas, nostrums, and propaganda to careful analysis. It will not be long until the communities form the habit of hearing from their "organized thought" before making a decision. Not until then will they be quite positive that nothing was "railroaded" upon them.

THE FUTURE OF COMMUNITY SOCIAL CONTROL

Many factors in social progress can be manipulated only with difficulty and expense. To change systems of land-ownership, financial systems, topography, or racial stock requires time and money. In many cases we must await the slow motion of political machinery, legislatures, and courts. With the exception of those social changes which involve the transforming of such institutions as are fortified with sacred tradition, the factors with which the sociologist works are quickly and economically operated. To double community efficiency, it is very rarely necessary to construct costly buildings or purchase costly equipment. Only occasionally are new institutions called for. By giving the organization already existing a better "hook-up," the volume of community life is enormously increased. During the last five years, communities have been rapidly awakening to the fact that the co-ordination of their various organizations is vital.

Again, the social engineer can usually manipulate, in a facile way, the relations of individuals within the organization. Every institution has its matrix of customs, by-laws, unwritten laws, promotion systems, traditions of honor, programs, and social habits, into which its members are fitted. In brief, the rural organization has a sort of spiritual complex, which determines to a large extent the behavior and attitudes of the individual.

The church imposes a different sort of attitude between men than does a billiard club. The study club places people in a different relation to each other than does the hiking club. In every case, the individual makes an adaptation to the complex of customs, rituals, and codes of conduct which the organization has maintained. The social engineer will test the social efficiency of different forms of organizational mechanism; he will study the adaptation of different systems of promotion and methods of deciding issues. From the standpoint of their adaptation to economy and expediency, he will strive to realign individuals within the organization in such a manner as to minimize antagonistic effort, indifference, and ineffective leadership. In a very true sense all this work is "creative synthesis," that is, the creation of new values, not by bringing new individuals or new institutions into being, but by scientifically organizing those already existing.

The potency of this work of creative organization is excellently illustrated by the way in which an honor system, introduced into colleges, or a welfare league instituted in penitentiaries, ushers in a new day. A further illustration is the change in a knot of boys after they have become Boy Scouts.

Other elements contributing to the future development of community engineering are the new devices for quickly and powerfully multiplying suggestion. Cheap printing, radios, leadership institutes, motion pictures, cameras, lantern slides adapted to the amateur—all these make it possible to "sell" community welfare programs to large numbers. It is an age of salesmanship of things which minister to people's psychic wants. Certainly the rural organizer will not lack the media for impressing the public with his constructive program.

Although intolerance among our older generation has been augmented by recent migrations of polyglot races and by the World War, there are many indications of the approach of a more humanitarian and co-operative spirit. The second generation of Americans are attending a common school, where they are acquainted with common languages, customs, and ideals. Rampant sectarianism is on the wane. The power of tradition has been greatly shaken by the education of the public mind to scientific methods of truth-finding. At the same time physical sciences have performed marvels in enriching man's material existence. Furthermore, we are in a dynamic stage as far as human alignments go, so that the public is expecting innovations. With such a psychology dominating society at large, the community organizer will find the coming age ready for new schemes of community building. People apply scientific reasoning to their

social relationships last, but when they do, we have a rich field for the community engineer. The danger is that with rural sociology creating a new vision of rural life, achievements will be demanded of the sociologist far beyond the ability of his science in its present development. Hundreds of communities are today realizing that their problems cannot be solved by the traveling community-welfare orator, who has enough vital information to last through one speech. The more thoughtful rural workers know that their community can be built only by a long-time, scientifically-planned program, which is founded upon a thorough job of community engineering. Hundreds of communities rapidly achieving social solidarity are ready for new schemes of community work before the rural sociologist has the necessary data to guide such effort.

In the past neither the general nor the rural sociologist has had a free rein in directing the thinking of the coming generation. Too many cults and propagandist societies wished to teach a set of ideas which would fit people's sociology to their narrow class program. So we have had about as many sociologies as there are economic classes, sects, and races. Such sociologies have been so colored by prejudices, mental attitudes, racial traditions, and class dogmas, that the scientific viewpoint has been obscured. Every science, even astronomy, has experienced the same inclination to use it as a stepping stone to class ascendency rather than as an instrument for truth-finding. It is not strange that the youngest science should meet the opposition of classes which have not passed the stage of "group egoism" and which rely upon a "home-made" brand of sociology to hold their followers in line. But today, in many directions, we are witnessing the arrival of a scientifically derived sociology, which will soon be a part of every school curriculum, which will provide the devices for a new era of community building, and which will control the destiny of human civilization.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Do philosophies have a place in an age of practical things? What has been the rôle of philosophies in the development of human society? Do we need a philosophy of rural progress and community building?
2. To what extent is society an organism? What laws of organic evolution does it follow? What practical applications may we make of the organic philosophy in modern community-organization practice?
3. Does the philosophy of mutual aid have any potency in our modern community living? Can you name any present-day practices of

neighborly aid? In what type of community do we find mutual aid strongly developed; Is there any relation between communism and mutual aid?

4. Is the philosophy of social control more or less revealed in ancient thought? What does *laissez faire* mean when applied to our economic system? Our society? Our community life? Is *laissez faire* workable? Why? Show how social control is the basic philosophy in community engineering.
5. What is the rôle of the volunteer worker in community service work? Under what conditions is volunteer work inefficient? How may we remedy this inefficiency?
6. Should our new program of community activity be founded upon youth or old age? Why? Why does work with youth pay "big dividends"?
7. A social engineer has embarked upon a long-time program of community development. What projects should he put on the first year?
8. Make up a list of what you consider to be the ten most important principles of community organization. To what extent are the communities which you have observed, following them?
9. Will the community engineer have an important part to play in the future progress of rural life? Are the devices with which he works difficult and expensive to manipulate?

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CHAPTER XX

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

THE FUNCTION OF COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

We have already noted that this age demands a more thorough and intensive program of community organization. We have observed the growing complexity of rural society and the greater need of delicate adjustments. Only through a systematic study of the population, institutions, geography, and socialization of the community can an adequate basis be laid for this more exhaustive and permanent work of community building. Thus the engine builder takes motors apart to see how they are articulated, before he creates new designs; thus the drainage engineer ascertains the topography and "lay" of the field before he sinks his tile. In the past organizers have "plunged into the thick" of community building without a clear vision as to just what they were trying to do. As a result valuable effort was squandered and few lasting results gained. It is only through careful diagnosis that the peculiarities of each "community case" are discovered, and a logical plan of procedure developed. The practical business man knows that one penny spent in preliminary planning may save dollars in the construction cost of the plant.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS HAS AN EDUCATIONAL VALUE

In a sense American people know less about their own communities than they do about China. The old pioneer who has lived for sixty years in one community is conversant with many interesting historical events and is also able to contribute much knowledge concerning resident families and old institutions. But he does not have this knowledge in an organized form. If an average rural audience were asked to give the birth-and-death rate of its community, the extent of its trade and banking territory, the number of social contacts produced by the various social agencies in a year, the way in which their children use leisure time, the percentage of tenants moving every year, and the amount spent for various services, you would get only wild guesses. It is possible to be so close to a book that we cannot read it. Furthermore, facts of a scientific value must be

secured by a trained observer who knows what to look for. The average man who looks through a huge telescope will give a poor account of the heavens. For all scientific purposes he is blind. Only the scientific study of astronomy will open his eyes. In a measure the same thing is true of the observation of human society; that is, facts of great social significance are hidden from the untrained observer. It is evident that community analysis will not only provide interesting studies in rural sociology and community civics to train the student observers, but will give the adult citizens a valuable education about their local problems.

Community analysis is of inestimable value to the minister, school superintendent, or other leader in helping visualize their particular community job. School and church should be an organic part of the entire community, and therefore should be able to interpret clearly the various aspects of the community's social life. And many a clergyman or teacher has lost his hold, because he used the wrong program upon the wrong community, or because he was unaware of certain antagonisms, family rivalries, or factional alignments. No leader who has recently moved into a community should fail to spend several months in carefully "sizing up" the situation, before he makes his first "big move." What activities, projects, programs, extra-curricular activities are apt to succeed? Where is the effective leadership and the undeveloped talent? Is he working with a community of one-year tenants or with a group of men who are heavily mortgaged and land poor? With what racial, age, and neighborhood groups is he working? Only a careful survey will reveal reliable information in these particulars.

Finally, it is only through community analysis that a diagnosis can be made of maladjustments and problems. The chances are that few communities have dug out the deeper roots of their problems. The letters sent in by various local leaders show that they are quite positive that such and such is their problem, but that they have only discovered the "surface roots." Only through the analytical survey is the community awakened to its real need, and so aroused to action.

PRELIMINARY STEPS IN COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

There are certain preparatory tasks which should be performed to insure the success of the community survey.

The surveyor should ascertain the type of community he is dealing with. Several classifications may be used here:

1. Type and size of town which is serving the community. This has

importance because the relations between farmer and town are far more intimate in the town of 500 than in the city-town of 5000, and because the smaller town renders only a limited number of services. A fuller description is given of these service types in the chapter dealing with Community Geography. The types are as follows:

a. The hamlet—population less than 100.

b. The village—population 100-400.

c. The town—population 400-1200.

d. The city-town—population 1200-5000.

e. The city—population over 5000.

2. Racial composition.

a. Mixed community. No one race or two races are strong enough to color the customs, institutions, and psychology of this community.

b. The German community.

c. The Negro community.

d. The German-Irish community.

e. Other types of racial communities.

3. Stability of population.

a. The static community. In this community we have a low rate of change with the probability of high consanguinity and intermarriage.

b. The dynamic community. In this community we have a high rate of change.

4. The dominating organization.

a. The church community. The church is the nucleus around which the social life of the community centers. It is not only the leader of community work, but has the confidence of the majority of the people.

b. The grange community.

c. The farm-bureau community.

d. The commercial-club community.

e. The lodge community.

f. The chamber-of-commerce community.

g. The farm-union community.

h. The school community. In a sense every community is a school community because of the strong parent interest.

i. The mixed community. In this case no one organization dominates.

5. General type of community organization.

a. Institutional type. Each organization leads a separate life.

b. Centralized type. Many organizations co-operate through some sort of a community council.

Going through the various types of classification, the social organizer

finds that he has a village community, of mixed racial composition, with a static population and an institutional type of organization. He notes that it is a church community. Then, at the outset, he will eliminate a large number of organization plans as being unusable.

The surveyor should give adequate publicity to the projected survey. Since he will depend upon people's good-will for much of his information, the community student must "sell" his survey project. Through sermons, lectures, exhibits of other surveys, circular letters, discussion groups, and newspaper articles he will sketch out the nature, the methods, and the value of community study. Thus, he will interest the church, the school, the farm bureau, the lodge, either until he secures their active co-operation or until, perhaps, he secures a delegate from each organization on the survey committee. In some cases he may induce the class in community civics to take it up as a laboratory work. From time to time he will give out interesting news items about the progress of the work. Thanks to shrewd and persistent publicity work, the community looks forward to the survey with enthusiasm and interest.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Most community surveyors will be surprised at the number and variety of the sources of information which will open up. People who are supposed to know nothing but neighborhood gossip will divulge facts of great significance to the sociologist. So no possible source of data should be overlooked. In most communities information may be obtained from such sources as the following:

1. Historic relics, such as old newspaper files, albums, diaries, and record books of organizations.

2. Pioneer residents of the community. These can generally supply the facts out of which a community history can be given vitality and continuity. From them can be obtained facts as to the rise and fall of organizations, or the genesis of factional divisions.

3. Merchants and bankers. These have business relations with practically every family in the community.

4. Ministers and school-teachers. These come into vital contact with the educational and spiritual life of numerous homes.

5. School children. School children have ready entrance into homes closed to the regular surveyor. Most of them are quite observing and can present excellent information on many problems.

6. Family heads living in the community.

TYPES OF COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

The age of general "shot-gun" surveys is passing and we are now using the "rifle" type which shoots at one particular problem of community life. Adequate community study should then come through a series or group of specialized surveys. While the general survey had inspirational and advertising value, it lacked the specific information with which to guide the community on a long-time, intensive program of development.

The economic or business analysis.[1]

1. Taxation.

Is the poor and good land valued equitably? What percentage of the community income goes for taxes? Is this tax burdensome? For what purposes does the community spend its taxes locally? Extra-locally?

2. Finance and banking.

Is mortgage indebtedness increasing or decreasing? Are credit accommodations adequate? Does lack of credit cause dumping of products? What is the extent of installment-plan buying and its effect upon business? Are savings increasing? How is thrift being encouraged? Are business failures increasing? How many people are banking away from the community?

3. Trade.

Is the volume of trade increasing? What is the extent of mail order buying? How many families buy goods at other towns? Why? What is the average life of business houses? In what ways do local merchants co-operate and advertise their businesses?

4. Labor return.

Are the wages paid for the various types of service high or low? How much temporary employment does the community furnish? How much seasonal unemployment exists? Are farmers and business men making good wages?

5. Marketing.

To what extent do farmers market outside of the community? Are local markets paying standard prices? Do local markets give good grading and service? What efforts are made to boost local markets? What percentage of the grain is fed on the farm? How much grain can the community store?

6. Transportation and communication.

What is the local cost of hauling a ton one mile? What is the relative amount of traffic on the different road systems in the community? What is the

[1] It may be asked why the sociologist should devote some attention to a business analysis. The answer is that community surveys are generally made on a unit basis and the various phases of community life studied simultaneously.

maintenance cost of the various road systems? How many danger spots exist in the community's road system? How many miles of first-class, graded, graveled, paved, and dirt roads exist in the community? How many miles of telephone wire has the community per telephone? What is the cost of telephone service? Could this be lowered by a better organization of telephone lines? How many radios does the community have? What is their cost and efficiency of service? How many pieces of mail are distributed monthly over the rural mail routes?

7. Labor efficiency.

What new time-saving and labor-saving devices have been installed during the past five years in banks, in stores, and on farms? What new methods of increasing productive efficiency have been tried? What new conveniences for reducing household drudgery have been installed in the various homes? What is a standard day's work in picking corn, plowing corn stubble, balancing accounts, picking corn, etc.? How much time is lost through improper equipment and inefficient methods? (In this respect certain farms, homes, and business establishments could be given a "management" analysis.)

8. Production.

What is the money value of the various crops of the community? To what extent has the community developed improved breeds of corn, fruit, and livestock? What special crops might be developed in the community? What are some representative costs of producing the various crops grown in the community?

9. Spending.

What percentage of the community's income goes for tobacco, education, books, chautauquas, religion, etc.?

The population analysis.

1. Composition.

What percentage of the people fall into the following age groups: under 5, 5-19, 20,34, 34-48, 48-62, 62 and over? Are these percentages typical of the American population? What percentage of the community is foreign-born? Native? What proportion of the people are of German, Scandinavian, or other foreign extraction? What percentage of the people are married? Single? Widowed? Divorced? What proportion of the population is engaged in farming, professional work, business, etc.?

2. Migration.

How many residents have been born and reared in the community? How many of these still remain? How many families and individuals have moved into the community during the year? During the past ten years? Whence did they come? How many families and individuals have moved from the community during the year? During the past ten years? Has this out-going stream of migrants included an undue proportion of the leadership of the

community? The older people? The youth? The talented? The educated? How has this migration of leaders affected the church, the lodges, and the other social agencies? What causes have contributed to this migration out of the community?

3. Fecundity and autogeny.

What is the community's birth rate? Death rate? What is the average number of children per family? How many families have more than eight children? Less than two? How do the families of the present generation compare with those of the past generation?

4. Consanguinity.

How many relatives can be counted within five miles of the average family? What percentage of the locally reared men have married locally reared women?

5. Standard of life.

How much do representative families spend for food, clothing, rent, books, magazines, health, church work, education, automobiles, furnishings, etc.? How does this compare with similar expenditures in other localities?

What is the money value of the truck-garden, fruit, fuel, eggs, milk, etc., which the typical farm in the locality contributes to the family living?

6. Health.

How many children have defective vision, hearing, tonsils, teeth, etc.? How many have received treatment or inspection? What is the rate of occurrence of the various diseases? What percentage of the homes have a supply of pure water? Proper ventilation? Proper lighting? Too much shade? What work has been done to promote health and prevent disease? How many homes have secured adequate nursing and hospital facilities during time of need? How many people have taken advantage of preventative medical work with regular examinations and corrective treatment? What disease-breeding places, such as stagnant ponds, unsanitary buildings, unsightly back yards, exist?

The historical analysis.

1. Pioneer stories of the early settlement of the communities classified by periods.

2. A map of the community with historic landmarks and their date and story. Trees, rocks, buildings, etc.

3. Persons connected with the settlement and development of the community.

4. Location of historical relics. Their meaning and their owners.

5. Dates and circumstances of the founding of the various organizations.

6. Community achievers. Their work and their present residence.

7. Community achievements in agriculture, in religious work, in educational work, etc.

8. Stirring events in the past life of the community.

9. The customs, conventions, recreational activities, social life, of past days as told by the older generation.

In the hurly-burly of our modern life, so tainted with sensualism and commercialism, we are losing much of our contact with a past age. With dozens of families moving away every year and with old settlers rapidly dying, young people often fail to get a proper vision of their future responsibilities. The community history links present with past, stimulates pride in collective achievement, unearths interesting relics, institutions, and customs, and points the way to future progress. No analysis is complete without an historical interpretation of community life. And no time should be lost, for every year we are losing those very people who could contribute fascinating pages to our community history.

The analysis of the social geography of the community.

The conception of a rural community as the town with its surrounding service areas was developed in the Chapter XIV. It was there noted how the natural lines of human association were substituted for the engineer's transit in marking off the boundaries of the various service communities, Through this form of study the community can be trained to visualize its trade, banking, school, and church relations in terms of the number of farms on the community map which these services reach.

The community surveyor can draw off in black ink an enlarged (4′ x 6′) map of the town with its surrounding townships on white cardboard. or cardboard covered with white paper. With the help of local business men and farmers he can insert the various roads, creeks, churches, schools, and houses, divide the sections into the proper farms, and inscribe under each farm the present operator's name. Taking this map to the minister he may stick blue pins, let us say, into the outermost homes that his church reaches; taking the map to the banker, he may stick red pins into the outermost homes that the bank serves. Outlining the church and banking community is merely a matter of connecting the blue pins with blue thread and the red pins with red thread. (Lines may be used instead of thread, but cannot be so easily changed from time to time as the service areas change.) In a similar manner the library, mail route, motion picture, trade, high school, and other service areas are determined by the number of services which are organized in the community. Owing to the close attach-

ment of the farmer's destiny to his land, there is much significance attached to *locality* in church, school, and business relations.

Within every community are several neighborhood areas of association, which have not been entirely assimilated. Some of these may have been assimilated up to the point where only one service institution, such as a church or farm bureau, may be left, yet there is a neighborhood tie and consciousness which must be reckoned with. These little neighborhood, primary, and "face-to-face areas have their names and boundaries, although, in many instances, they are only a mile across and possess only 20 or 30 families. The community, with its trade area, also joins with several other communities in partaking of services from a small city or county seat town, and so belongs in a tertiary area.

When a country has been parceled out into a dozen or more communities or natural social areas, there will be found interstitial areas which, like mortar between bricks, fill in the spaces between communities. The areas of indifference as far as trade and social relationships are concerned cannot be definitely classified into any one community, but exist as a sort of "no-man's land." They are the scene of an inter-community conflict for more trade and social area. Yet, provision must be made for these areas as far as church, school, and trade services are concerned. From year to year, the progress of the community into these zones may be watched.

Socialization analysis.

This analysis of the quantity, quality, and control of the social contacts of a rural community involves a number of quite distinctive studies.

What resources, material and human, does the community have to work with in building its socialization program? Certain types of survey will reveal information of this character.

1. The leadership inventory.

A list is compiled of the various community leaders with the age, training, years of experience, organizational connections, sex, and methods of each. The projects which they are carrying on in the various organizations with which they work are also, taken account of. More youthful people who have a promise of becoming leaders are also noted. With this information we have the basis for studying the overlapping of leadership, for organizing a leadership training course, and for forming a local co-operative association of leaders.

2. The talent inventory.

With the aid of organizational leaders a classified list of dramatic, musical, speaking, and athletic talent can be compiled. The details of the talent analysis have been treated in the chapter on Talent Utilization.

3. The equipment inventory.

How well is the community equipped for recreational, musical, dramatic, religious, and educational work? What new devices should be installed or purchased by the community to render socialization work more efficient? Is there equipment in the community which is not used as advantageously as it should be? This list may include playground equipment, playground lots, motion picture machines, swimming pools, club rooms, auditoriums, rest rooms, stages for theatricals, band stands, basement kitchens, movable chairs, gymnastic equipment, libraries, reading rooms, song books, etc. From year to year this inventory should be checked over in order to ascertain the needed renewals.

What sort of socializing machinery in the way of institutions does the community possess? How well are these existing social agencies adapted to the larger community program? What is their cost? Is the community over-organized? The following surveys help answer these queries.

1. An inventory of the existing agencies of socialization.

A list will be compiled of the different institutions such as churches, lodges, clubs, musical organizations, discussion groups, farmers' organizations, business men's organizations, auxiliary religious organizations, dramatic organizations, etc. From this data the number of organizations and officials per 100 people can be calculated.

2. The socialization budget.

The money collected and spent by the various social agencies fund is computed. If the community has a chest or common fund for social welfare work, the task is simplified.

3. The extent to which each institution is co-operating with other institutions or with the community should be observed.

4. The membership of each institution may be taken.

How efficiently is the community producing social contacts? To determine this, several studies are necessary.

1. Event inventory and social contact analysis.

a. Each organization in the community is given a sheet listing such events as box suppers, lectures, educational movies, plays, father-and-son banquets, socials, exhibits, musical programs, hikes, baseball games, debates, etc. The events featured during the year are checked with the estimated attendance at each. If officers are presented with a record blank of events and attendances at the beginning of the year, or if the high school class in civics or sociology takes up this study as a project, the accuracy of the inventory is increased.

b. With the aid of several public-minded citizens, a sheet listing such community-promoted events as community Christmas, community fairs, community plays, community sings, community programs, community chautauquas, etc.,

is checked. Attendances at each event are estimated, unless some person has been keeping a record.

c. Event and attendance sheets are also filled out for the activities which are commercially sponsored such as tent shows, circuses, privately owned movies, etc.

d. The different events may be classified as educational, dramatic, musical, social, religious, and athletic. They may be classified as Type A, or first class; or Type B, medium to inferior. The number of events of each kind which the community has for each 100 people can thus be calculated.

2. Talent utilization calculation.

a. Each school child is given a slip on which is listed fifty or more classified activities such as singing, orchestra work, debating, hiking, teaching Sunday School classes, leading young people's meetings, playing musical instruments, playing different varieties of active and quiet games, constructing radios, making garments, collecting curios, etc. Another list, somewhat revised from the former, is given the adult talent. The various persons then check the activities in which they have participated during the year. They also give the number of times during the year that they have made a public or semi-public appearance in each type of activity. At the same time the number of appearances of professional talent is noted.

b. By dividing the total number of appearances by the number of talented persons we get the average number of performances per talented persons. This might be termed a *talent utilization index.*

c. Organizations can be rated according to the number of opportunities they have given talented people to perform. Activities can be evaluated in the same way.

d. Communities can be rated according to the number of talent-expression opportunities they have created per 100 people.

e. The proportion of children which show marked repression can be computed.

f. The ratio between local talent opportunities and professional talent opportunities can be worked out.

3. Cost of social contacts.

a. This may be computed by dividing the total number of contacts by the money expended by the community, the commercial agencies, and the various organizations. Thus, for each $100 so many contacts are secured.

b. Such may also be calculated by dividing the investment of leadership time by the number of contacts. This gives some index as to the efficient use of leadership time.

4. Contacts of individuals with local events.

a. Lists of the local events held during the year can be given out to individuals in the community, who will check the events which they attended.

b. From this we can discover the distribution of socializing events among the people. Social contact totals will not always reveal the presence of a group of persons who are isolated from community life, for in some instances, the country surrounding a town will have little contact with its events.

c. If lists of events outside of their community are checked by the local

residents, the proportion of social life contributed by local agencies can be computed.

5. Conflicting events.

a. Certain days, certain weeks or seasons will "run either light or heavy" in events.

b. The year may be represented by a long rectangle, which is divided into squares representing weeks. Each week may be further divided into rectangles marking off the days. For each event a dot is placed in the proper rectangle, so that a glance at this rectangle will show the congested spots.

c. Such an analysis may often awaken people to the need of an organized sequence of events in the form of a community calendar and of assigning to each organization certain dates, for their events. Next year another analysis will be made to discover whether the crowding of events has been relieved.

6. Duplicating programs.

a. The name of each community organization or institution is written at the head of a column. In these different columns are listed the events which the organization has been instrumental in staging.

b. Events of the same nature are connected by lines running between the columns. In this way the overlapping of organizations in their musical, dramatic, educational, and social work can be calculated.

7. Leisure time.

a. The leisure time of leaders, number of hours annually at their disposal.
b. The annual leisure hours of talented persons.
c. The annual leisure time of the typical community citizen.

GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

One of the great purposes of any community study, however complete or incomplete it may be, is to stimulate interest in local problems, to inspire enthusiasm for community building, and to effect a more constructive socialization program for the future. Most people are eye-minded rather than ear-minded. Furthermore, most of them visualize things in a spacial system. To say that ten percent of the farm homes have electric lights is not nearly so effective as marking fifteen homes on the map with miniature electric bulbs.

To present effectively the results of various community studies to the public, a large cardboard community map such as before described can be prepared (the manual training or geography class could do this). Certain arrangements and devices can make this map particularly useful and attractive.

1. Small photographs of the farmstead pasted upon the proper farm

on the map. With each photo may be an inscription giving the name of the owner, the tenant, the farm name, and its special products.

2. A set of pins with different colored heads.

3. Photos of public buildings and historic landmarks inserted at the center of the map.

Practically every type of survey information can be shown on this map by using different colored pins. For example we will take the talent inventory. The first operation will be to designate each type of talent which we have classified—violin, dramatic, debating, etc.—with a certain colored pin. The second operation will be to stick a pin, let us say red, into the community map at the point where the violinist's home is marked. Thus, wherever we find a talented person, we insert a pin at the proper place on the map.

Citing another example, we will suppose that we want to show the results of our home-convenience survey. The pins having been removed, and the different colors assigned to such things as power washers, electric lights, and furnaces, the homes that have the conveniences can be marked. Whatever we desire to portray in this manner, we can use the same method of assigning differently-colored pins to our scheme of classification.

The social contact production of different agencies and organizations may be shown in this manner. A circle, representing the community, is surrounded by a set of smaller circles designating the various social agencies. Into these circles are inserted red pins, each of which, let us say, stands for 25 dramatic contacts. Blue pins represent 25 musical contacts. These small circles open into the larger circle, thus suggesting the fact that each social agency is contributing a certain number and type of social contacts to the community. In the large community circle are colored pins indicating that a certain number of contacts have been developed by purely community initiative.

The extent to which the various social agencies reach the community homes may be indicated by running our different colored threads from designs at the center of our map representing church, high school, club, farm bureau, to the various homes on the map. These threads represent so many arteries which conduct the elements of social nutrition from the institution to the home.

There is much suggestive power in visualized facts. As the community sees itself as a producer of social contacts, a creator of talent opportunities, and a builder of human personalities, it will have a desire to make its work more effective. With the help of the social engineer a long-time program will be worked out, which will add new supplies of needed con-

tacts and set more talent into motion. From analysis we go to synthesis; from community surveying we go to community building.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. What is the meaning and function of community analysis? Why can people, presumably well-informed about their community, contribute little knowledge of a scientific or accurate character?
2. What are some of the preliminary steps in making a community analysis? Why should we give adequate publicity to the community survey?
3. List the various sources of information which are available in your community.
4. What are the various types of community analysis? What factors should determine the type of survey which you would conduct in your community?
5. Plan out or make a survey of your community, using one or more of the analyses suggested in this chapter.
6. Construct a map of your community and provide yourself with pins with different colored heads. By means of these pins visualize the survey or surveys which you have made.

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CHAPTER XXI

METHODS AND SYSTEMS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

THE OVERHEAD VS. THE LOCAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In our study of community social agencies and institutions, we noted the methods and results of following the overhead method of planting out rural organizations. We observed that during the last thirty years this approach to the organization problem has been the dominating one, and that it gave rise to the idea that the task of community organizations was transplanting institutional seedlings from the central hotbed. Community organization meant, then, the addition of new organizations to the community as the faddist continually seeks for new styles in shoes and hats. And so a search was conducted for novel and spectacular organizations that would "sell" in a thousand communities; and, when such agencies were found, each national organization had its staff of agents to plant the institution in every possible community, and to root it so firmly that it could withstand the attack of other organizations.

To make sure of the permanence of organizations, some of which could not stand competition on the basis of their social-contact contribution to the community, partisanship, patriotism, and clan spirit were inculcated into the creed and ritual. We are now recognizing that certain types of service must be organized in this way, and that a certain amount of contact of the local chapter with the state and national order is necessary for the standardization and co-operation of isolated locals; but we are also recognizing that, if we carry this to the extreme, we paralyze local initiative, kill local leadership, and overstock our community with ill-adapted programs. Moreover, a community soon loses its independence so far as working out its plan of community organization is concerned.

The plan of the overhead worker is to create a strong national organization with its definite set of ideals, by-laws, programs, and membership requirements. High-priced experts may draft every clause in its constitution and program. This they put in attractive, secret rituals which help it to "sell." The ideal is to minister to every possible need of the rural community and to solve all its problems, economic and social. After the

overhead plan has been "sold" to a certain number of communities, leverage can be exerted on hundreds of others. These communities are invaded by high-priced organizers, while representative citizens are approached with promises of an official berth in the "local," if they will "climb on to the band wagon." If some influential people were left out, another organizer has his opportunity to "sell" his brand of community salvation. Under this plan there is no need for the slow process of community surveys, consultations of leaders of various organizations, drafting of plans for long-time development. The agent has a ready-made plan and program. All that is left to do is to sign up members on the dotted line, collect the fees, and adopt the constitution. Little thought is given concerning just how the details will be worked out, or where the leaders will be found who can execute the elaborate program left behind after the salesman has held the first booster meeting. Many overhead systems set up county and township branches.

They have usually followed civil and political units for several reasons.

1. It is easier to follow a well-defined area mapped by the engineer's transit, and legalized by law.

2. If federal or state aid was given to the work, or if an attempt at co-operation between the voluntary organization and the authorities should be needed, this unit was found to be most convenient.

3. No concept of a natural community existed.

4. The only evident natural community (the neighborhood) was too small for many of these organizations. It was a case of following the line of least resistance in the field of social organization.

The bulk of rural organizations have been organized on this plan. Only occasionally, in the more advanced types of Class A communities, do we find emerging organizations that have grown up from local engineering.

The overhead system of organization has several advantages which should not be lost sight of.

1. It fits a period when, from lack of education or indifference, local leadership is wanting. If communities had waited on local leadership for churches, Boy Scouts, welfare centers, health organizations, farm bureaus, and Y. M. C. A.'s they would now be without most of these worth-while agencies. Through the vision which some organizer with the missionary spirit imparted, the community was aroused to action.

2. It connects the local with a large national organization, and so prevents its program from becoming narrow and provincial. Through the national body it can find expert help for its local problems; through the

national body it can meet to compare notes with other locals. Through the national organization the local can assist in world-wide projects, and such missionary tasks as are too great for any local organization to undertake or finance. On this basis many churches spend millions of dollars in the missionary fields.

3. Through the help of an expert organizer, weak communities can get aid from stronger communities. In this manner welfare work is conducted in hundreds of communities where it does not "carry itself" financially. Strong churches bolster weak churches. There is, of course, always the danger that this will be carried to the extreme and made the excuse for carrying extra churches and institutions not needed by the community. Communities can also extend mutual aid to each other through this system.

4. Through this system programs, plans, projects, and activities can be standardized. High-priced experts can be secured to draft these plans and try them out over a wide area. In this way improvements are often suggested, and programs standardized. Thus, the same tactics will often stage a successful theater, pageant, or play day in two different communities. The danger is that local leaders, in adhering strictly to the program, get into a rut and so allow their ingenuity to rust out.

The overhead system has these disadvantages.

1. The programs and organizations are often not indigenous, and so lack adaptability.

2. An unnecessary institution or agency may be foisted onto the town by a high-pressure salesman, since a small group of self-seeking leaders, bent on publicity and official berths, will fall into line. Thus superfluous organizations may be started by a small minority.

3. Communities are over-organized and split into factions with resulting discord. Institutions, planted out by the super-organizations, lack a local relationship, and often find it difficult to co-operate. Before they get behind a common community program, they must consult a dozen state boards of trustees, directors, or committeemen, and the chances of agreement between these boards, which know little of the local conditions, are slight. National officers or boards, out of touch with local problems dictate the policy of the local.

4. In many instances the locals are regarded as sources of dues for grinding the axes of the nationals. Money will be extracted by high-pressure drives for building playgrounds for foreign children, while the native children play on the street. In extreme cases missionary money may

be sent out of the community, while the shingles fall off the local church and the minister is dunned for his store bill. Thus, communities may be bled for hundreds of dollars by a coterie of super-community organizations.

5. The development of local initiative is retarded.

Thus, Lindeman, in discussing community organization,[1] holds that "The *Stimulating Force* which causes a community to start toward organization may come from within or without the community. The particular 'color' which the force takes on after it has started on its way, and the direction in which the force is to act, must come from within the community. . . . The outside agency creates a stimulus toward community organization and supplies certain elements of the technique for the early steps. It must then subordinate itself, until the *Democratic Process* steps in to make indigenous evaluations and adaptations." There are many communities that are indifferent and ignorant in regard to such work as that of the Boy Scouts or the community playground. With a little incentive and encouragement from without, local leadership may be liberated which will give the movement the community's stamp. The advantages of local leadership and local organization are about the reverse of the disadvantages of the overhead system. With the training of community leaders in the colleges, with the appearance of leadership in consolidated school staffs, with the widening of neighborhood into community, with *leadership short courses,* we shall see in the next twenty-five years much local initiative and less dependence upon super-community organizations. The lack of local leadership has been the excuse for super-community organization. State organizers bluntly declare that the local community does not know enough to engineer its own organization work.

The most notable movements along the local system of organization are:

1. Community Clubs.
2. Community Churches. Federated Churches.
3. Farmers' and Farm Women's Clubs.
4. Choral Societies, Bands, and Orchestras.
5. Community Fairs and Exhibits.
6. Community Films and Playgrounds.
7. Community Center Associations and Community Councils.

The following diagram serves to illustrate the theory and the problem of the overhead type of organization.

[1] Lindeman, E., *The Community,* p. 176. Association Press, New York, 1921.

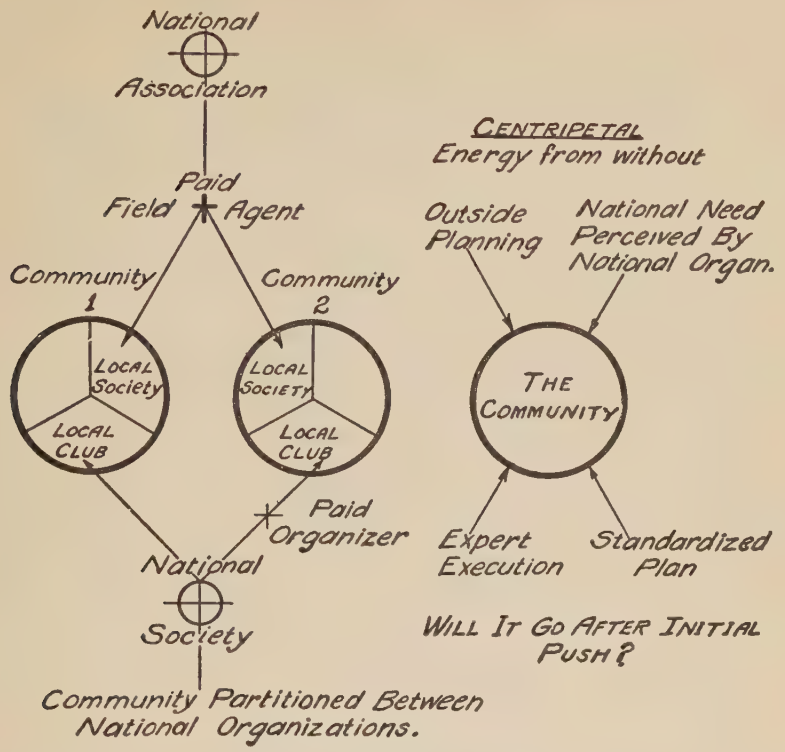


FIGURE 42

The Overhead, From-the-Top-Down, Approach to Community Organization

COMBINATION OF THE LOCAL AND OVERHEAD METHODS

We may take from each system its strong points and leave its weaker ones, for only at relatively few points is conflict necessary. On one hand, we are after expert service and co-operation of locals through certain standardized projects, on a state or national scale. On the other hand, we desire local autonomy. The practical possibility of reconciling the two aims is demonstrated by national organizations which are harmonizing these two needs of organization work. To realize the first aim without interfering with the second, general plans and suggestions are worked out by state and national experts, and propagated broadcast by radio, bulletin, lecture, slides, films, and short courses. This makes its possible for any community that cares for this service to secure it upon request, without entangling itself in super-community boards. In all cases the action and

specific details may be left for local people to initiate. To realize the second aim, we encourage communities to organize service bureaus or committees that shall strive to link the community with the corresponding service of its state bureaus, national bureaus, and extension departments. Thus the visit of the super-community organization representative may be in an advisory or service capacity rather than in the capacity of dictator. Communities organized in this way can receive the maximum amount of playground, dramatic, music, community-singing, slide, film, lecture-demonstration, and exhibit service without yielding the power of self-determination, or the right to co-operate with other agencies.

Other methods can be used to co-ordinate effectively local and overhead organizations. Thus self-organized institutions may send delegates, from their own and from similarly organized agencies in other communities, to conventions. These delegates may draft a state program, hire a state organizer, finance a propaganda or news sheet, discuss common problems, conduct a leadership school, or pass resolutions without in any way forcing the local organization to ratify the scheme. This prevents provincialism, and gives the benefits of mutual aid without yielding community self-determination. Again, an overhead agency may send out a paid organizer to assist in the first steps of community organization, and to inspire a vision of future possibilities. When his work is done he can turn over the organization to the community without any "strings." His next visit will never occur without the request of the community. Furthermore, this organizer has no set scheme for organizing the community, or any set type of project which must be adhered to. If the community desires to organize play, then he will devote his efforts to placing this line of work in a running condition. If a community center council is to be created, he drafts a plan for this, and then proceeds to help the people institute it. He is in every way their servant and not their dictator. The Community Service Incorporated, the Red Cross, and the Chamber of Commerce have, to a large degree, followed the plan of helping communities to help themselves. It is a clear recognition of the principle of local determination, combined with such expert service as is, ordinarily, beyond the reach of most localities. It is an admission that indirect, non-compulsory suggestion, in the case of social service agencies which must operate with volunteers, is better psychology than direct, compulsory suggestion.

Following this same principle of combining expert guidance in organization technique with the power of local promotion, college extension departments are working out a large number of cooperative projects with rural communities. And their success further testifies for the principle.

METHODS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOLLOWED BY REPRESENTATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Various systems of organizing community life are either fully or partially used by different organizations.

The chamber of commerce system. One basic theory of community organization is illustrated by a wheel the hub of which is the chamber of commerce. The radiating spokes represent the interests, institutions, and activities of the community. In this the chamber of commerce reflects the organic notion of interrelated, co-ordinating and interdependent parts, since it organizes upon the basis of related bureaus and activities. Through the chamber of commerce, various community organizations are related to each other and are often given a community chest. The following diagram represents its organization plan.

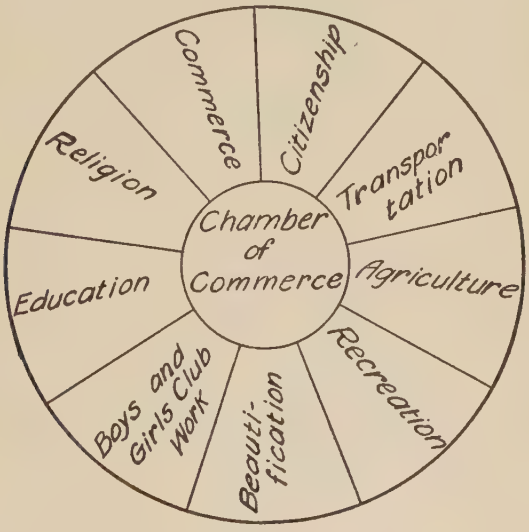


FIGURE 43

The Chamber of Commerce and the Hub of Community Civic Life

Although it promotes, finances, and boosts, the chamber of commerce performs its most significant work as a correlating organization. Instead of doing the work of ten organizations, it sets ten organizations to work.

In most communities the chamber of commerce serves as a sort of clearing house for the community. Through this publicity mechanism anything of community interest, without favor to faction, sect, or party, secures

a hearing. Thus it becomes a forum for community opinion, and a medium for the expression of community will.

The promotional activities of the chamber of commerce are numerous. In many communities it takes the lead in raising a fund to carry on such work as Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, Associated Charities, Orphans' Home, Y. M. C. A., etc. In other communities it encourages the entry of both industries and needed social-service agencies. Although, of itself, it rarely attempts to put on an elaborate social, educational, or economic program, it believes it is the best policy to boost and aid the several hundred specialized organizations which are in the community to do this work, and to a large degree—especially in the city—this logic is sound. And, so, it purports to bring some common program for the benefit of the whole community from these separate organizations, and imbues them with community rather than partisan psychology.

However, in addition to its promotional work, it has a well-organized social, recreational, citizenship, and commercial program of its own. Through luncheons, booster trips, sociability tours, and lectures from public officials, it promotes brotherhood among the business men of the community—including "business farmers"—and encourages sociability and citizenship. In its club room it often provides rest and recreational service.

Thus the chamber of commerce, while being a sort of community council and encouraging community center work, does not perform the same type of work as the typical community association advocated by rural organizers. While the community association, through its committees on drama, lecture, music, and club work, will actually do the socialization work of the community and eliminate many separate duplicating institutions, the chamber of commerce does not directly attempt to reduce the number of organizations in a community. It rather seeks to co-ordinate their programs and finances. Acting in this rôle the chamber of commerce organized the agricultural interest and fathered the farm bureau in its infancy.

This organization naturally fits into the city of 5000 population and above, where commercial and business interests have a strong, healthy growth, and where the membership is sufficiently large to carry its type of organization. In a place of this size commercial enterprises require almost continual co-ordination and direction. As the key to organizing the city upon the organic basis and co-ordinating conflicting programs and agencies, it has been a vital factor in the building of the urban community.

Its farmer membership has never been large, because it has never

waged an active campaign for farmers, or, by a simplified and readapted type of program, extended its work into the smaller community. Not only is its organization somewhat complex and elaborate for the smaller town, but farmers tend to link it with the business and commercial interest of the community, and to regard it as a "business and professional men's" organization. Only a small minority of farmers—though this is an error—see themselves as business specialists, in need of linking their businesses with community industries.

In theory the chamber of commerce includes every class in the community, but depends upon the vision of the secretary for actually applying this broader concept. Its basic theory is the same as that of the community council, except that, preferring to let individual organizations perform the services, it does not go beyond the boosting, promoting, and financing of many lines of community activity.

A readaptation of the chamber of commerce as a community association, without the paid secretary feature, and with the provision for directly taking charge of many community functions, would fit it to many more of the small towns. The commercial interest needs organization in the smaller rural town; but this generally requires the mutual support of other interests. It could conceivably be established as one branch of community association work.

The chamber of commerce has responded to the urban growth of community consciousness, and, in its system of control, has applied the organic theory of society. In the larger center this organization can run without any support from farmers—a thing which would be impossible in the village or small town community. However, in this latter type of community, a well-constructed community center association should prove a good basis for organizing the commercial interest. Certainly it should secure the "backing" of the entire community. While this commercial interest is more important in the small town than is generally conceded, it does not dominate, because the small number of business men must attach themselves to the larger community organization to function efficiently. Although the chamber of commerce uses the community unit in theory, its present field of activity is within the city.

The farm bureau system. The farm bureau has an interesting history. Under the tutelage of the chamber of commerce, it began as a local, volunteer affair. Then, for a long time, it evolved, locality by locality, county by county, fostered and promoted by missionary work. At first the growth was quite gradual, but during the war-emergency it received a considerable impetus from government aid. With the Smith-Lever Act,

funds were made available, which by June, 1918, put agent work into 1133 counties. Rapidly the locals began to consolidate into state bureaus, and finally a national federation was consummated by several states with their convened delegates. For a period the work was fostered by colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture as a sub-extension station. In 1919 an effort was made to make the farm bureau into a class-conscious organization, that could become spokesman for the farmer on legislative, economic, social, and political issues. At the same time an attempt was made to put its policy more directly under the farmers' control. While the county agent as the servant of state and government could not act as a class propagandist or an organizer for the farmer, it was possible for the county farm bureau, represented by township delegates, to undertake or sponsor any work decided upon.

The organization has grown until we have in round numbers 2000 county agents, 800 home demonstration agents, and 300 leaders of boys' and girls' clubs. Several organizational principles are exemplified by the farm bureau.

1. The local units of administration follow civil and political areas. Such a division upon the basis of states, counties, and townships follows the lines which taxation and civil administration follow and so facilitates not only the financial and business organization of the bureau, but also expedites co-operation with the government and state authorities. It also gives a definite, unmistakable unit. However, from the standpoint of functioning in a social and cultural way, it is hampered, in most cases, by a failure to follow the natural areas of association. In many states community farm bureaus rather than township bureaus are being encouraged as far as actual functioning is concerned.

2. The local rather than the overhead method of organization. The farm bureau in its first stages was organized from the bottom up. Later, during the World-War period, because of the national emergency of speeding up agricultural production, there was an effort to work from the top down. There can be no doubt that this pressure upon the part of the federal government extended it into a number of weak communities, where, in spite of the nurture of the county agent and heroic membership rallies, it is now waging a struggle for existence.

3. Local democracy. The *local farm bureau* is a "law unto itself" as far as the work of its own members is concerned. It generally does co-operate with the county agent and the state bureau, although the only binding thing is the membership fee of five dollars which gives the privilege of selecting administrative officers. Program and projects are suggested

to it by state experts, but it is not obligated to take them up. Since the county agent, as a quasi-government official and employee of the state, is not so free, he is not always able to do the work which the locals want of him. However, they can undertake it "on their own hook," and, if they care to dispense with state or government aid, they cannot only place this county agent under entire obligation to themselves, but can dictate his field of action. The agent is, in such an arrangement, a hybrid, being under the dual authority of the government on one hand, and of the local bureaus on the other.

4. Expert service and supervision without loss of local autonomy. The farm bureau, in sharp contrast to the grange, the farmers' union, or the alliance, has relied on paid agents and extension workers for its supervision. Thus, more or less expert service was insured at all times to prevent the failures under a system where "everybody's business is nobody's business." Certainly, there can be little doubt that this expert and compensated service has set a new milestone in farm organization work. In some places and at some times, there has been an attempt at some dictation by certain undiplomatic individuals, but very rarely did it endure. The keynotes have been education, investigation, extension, and service. Although to a certain extent there has been a tendency towards standardization of local projects and programs, we are now witnessing the development of local farmer leadership that will gradually individualize the program and expand the repertoire of the farm bureau.

5. While the farm bureau primarily stands for the organization of the agricultural interests on a business basis, and while it was built as one bureau in the chamber of commerce with just this idea in view, it has, in many places, widened out into a community agency that undertakes to organize the various recreational, religious, and social interests. Its use of the township rather than the community area keeps it out of the village and thus retards it in becoming associated with such organizations as the school and church. In most rural districts it strives to organize its various interests on a neighborhood or township basis.

Thus, the very effort to meet the social starvation problem has forced the farm bureau to adopt the rôle of a social agency, and to provide a medium through which the culture of rural people could be expressed. The farmer recognizes it as not only a "mechanism for pumping" experiment station results from college to farm, but also as an economic and social spokesman for the farmers in the halls of legislation.

6. Carefully co-ordinated and supervised programs.

a. The monthly meeting, at which the county workers meet with the

"local" to deal with problems and issues. This meeting often takes on a social character in the form of games, songs, plays, stunts, and "eats," which put spice and variety into the programs and make the monthly meeting more than a parliamentary business affair.

b. Projects in the way of inter-county and township debates, boys' and girls' calf, canning, garment, and pig clubs. Demonstrations on canning, filling ditches, and variety tests of corn or small grain. Exhibits at the fair.

On a state-wide basis the program has been to foster efficient food production, safeguard the farmer's right in legislation by initiative and referendum, foster co-operative marketing, and investigate economic conditions which both here and abroad affect the prosperity of the farmer. Weekly information, concerning the legal battles on freight rates or rights to terminal markets, is given out.

Figure 44 illustrates the farm bureau organization.

This diagram shows the dual source of authority which governs the county agent. Locally the farm bureau may cohere and link up its program with other organizations. After electing the township officers, the farm bureau members of several townships may unite into a community farm bureau and function largely through a community-center association with its farm bureau section. One of the sociological weaknesses of the farm bureau is its lack of liaison with other local organizations. Isolated in some remote open country neighborhood from the life of the community, it sometimes dies a lingering death and has to be resuscitated by a membership drive urged on by special "pep" meetings. Only occasionally does it take on the aspect of a community organization and so act as the foundation stone for recreational, social, and club activities.

The program of the farm bureau is illustrated by this outline.

A. General. A spokesman for the farmer.

B. Educational.

1. Educate town people to farmers' problems.
2. Advertise agriculture as foremost industry.
3. Develop efficient food production.
4. Foster better religion, health, and welfare.
5. Hold referendum on national and legislative questions.

C. Legislative.

1. Safeguard farmers' rights and interests.
2. Insist on farmer representation.
3. Defend farmers' economic viewpoint of legislation.

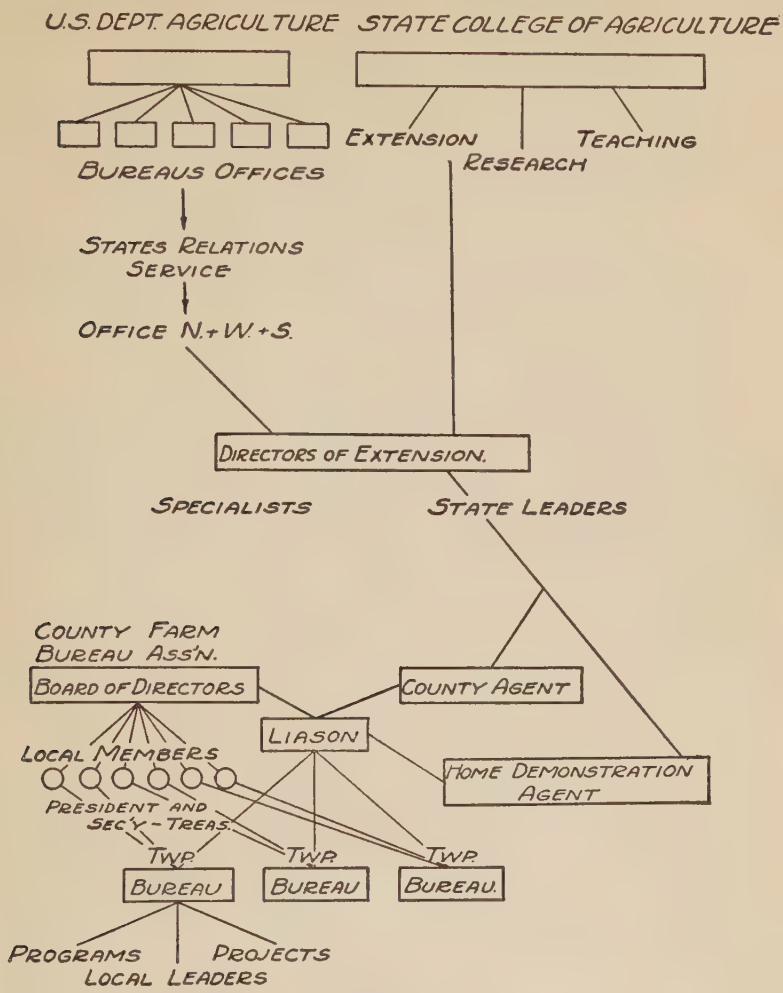


FIGURE 44.

Schematic Presentation of Theory of Farm Bureau Organization

4. Insist on capital-labor agreement to prevent strikes.
5. Work for better credits.

D. Economic.

1. Extend co-operation.
2. Create new foreign markets for surplus.

Lessen costs of distribution.
Build departments to carry this out.
a. Legislative. Branch office in Washington.
b. Co-operative marketing.
c. Transportation. Investigate rates.
d. Economics and statistics.
Reliable information on crops, credit trends, etc.
e. Information.
Weekly news and bulletin service. Stories for press.
Feature magazine articles.
f. Legal.
g. Finance.
Collect dues, prepare budgets.

On account of its close relationship to them in an official way, extension workers tend to use the farm bureau as the organization through which to head out their projects and programs. Whether it will expand as the precursor of community associations and form the basis for the type of organization which co-ordinates various community agencies, depends on the community viewpoint of its leaders.

From the standpoints of community-organization practice, expert direction, and administration, it is the best type of farm organization ever constructed. For this reason we can expect its permanence and stability.

GENERAL SCHEMES AND SYSTEMS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The adventitious organization of communities by independent competing institutions and agencies. This comes about under the *laissez faire* policy, in a natural, haphazard way, and is the course which most communities inevitably pursue, not only when overhead organizations invade them, but when their local leadership is divided into factions, institutions, and sects. It is rarely the plan followed by a social engineer with a conscious scheme of community organization. Organizations "grow up like Topsy" in a perfectly chaotic, incongruous, and confused manner, just as a city grows along cow-paths when it has no plan of development.

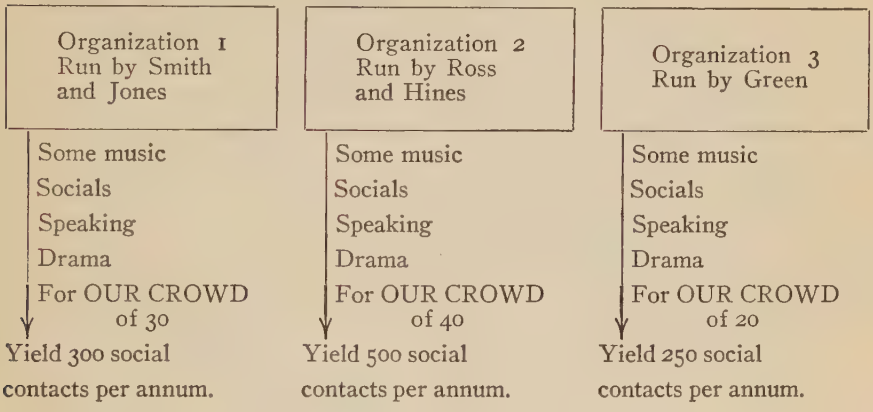
The characteristics by which this type of organization may be known are:

1. Activities and programs are initiated separately by certain outside overhead organizations, certain individuals, and certain institutions.

2. No effort is made at co-ordinating the talent and leadership of

organizations, although they inhabit the same community area and their constituencies overlap.

The institutional scheme for the organization of community effort is indicated by the following diagrams, which also show why this type of organization does not give the community a high social efficiency. In fact, several communities of this type of organization had only one-third the number of A type contacts that they should have had.



TOTAL 1050 SOCIAL CONTACTS

Inferior programs by overhead, unspecialized leaders and poorly-classified, limited talent reduce the quality of the exposure, while small, clannish crowds reduce the number of exposures.

Inevitably dates conflict and programs congest at certain times in the year. This system of organization is based on the idea of maintaining certain institutions, without reference to the way in which community interests are functioning.

Organizational loyalty substitutes for community patriotism. Since they are below the size for sociological efficiency, many of the organizations perish by the wayside.

Most of the communities with which the social engineer works have this type of organization, although some are beginning to emerge into the organic stage where institutions begin to clear their programs through a central co-ordinating agency. This system of organization takes no cognizance of the carrying power of the communities in organizations and projects.

The centralized or council plan of organization. This plan, which as advocated by Morgan, Carver, Sanderson, and others endeavors to co-

ordinate existing organizations through a community council, is composed either of delegates from various organizations or of those directly elected by the community. Through this central committee community lines of endeavor are staked out and assigned to various bureaus, committees, or organizations. In every way consolidation, specialization, and community government are striven for.

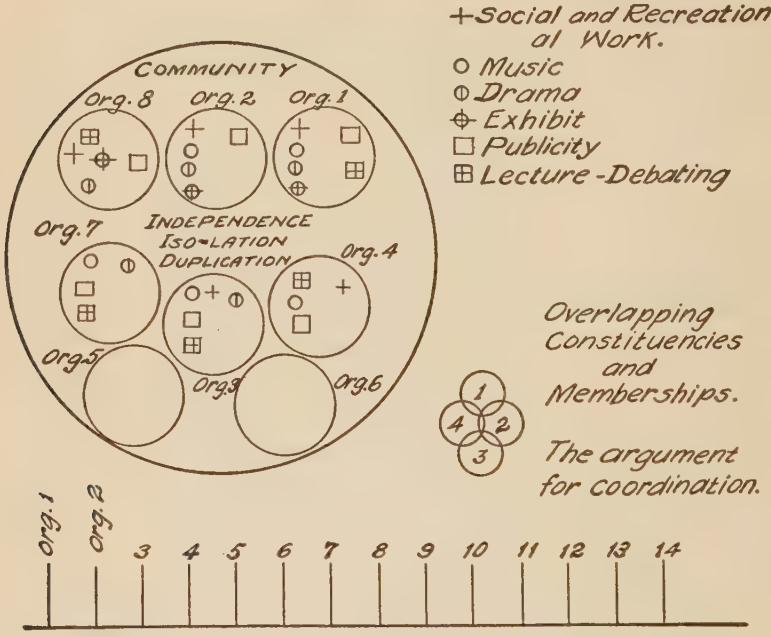


FIGURE 45

The Institutional Form of Community Organization

Sanderson thus summarizes [2] this plan:

"The first type conceives the community organization as a pure democracy in which the council or directorate is chosen by the community meeting in which all citizens are eligible members. The work of the organization is carried out through committees which endeavor to secure the co-operation of all associations and agencies in the community, but existing organizations, as such, have no representation in the community organization. Its chief weakness seems to be that it fails to provide any effective means of integrating the efforts of existing organizations within the com-

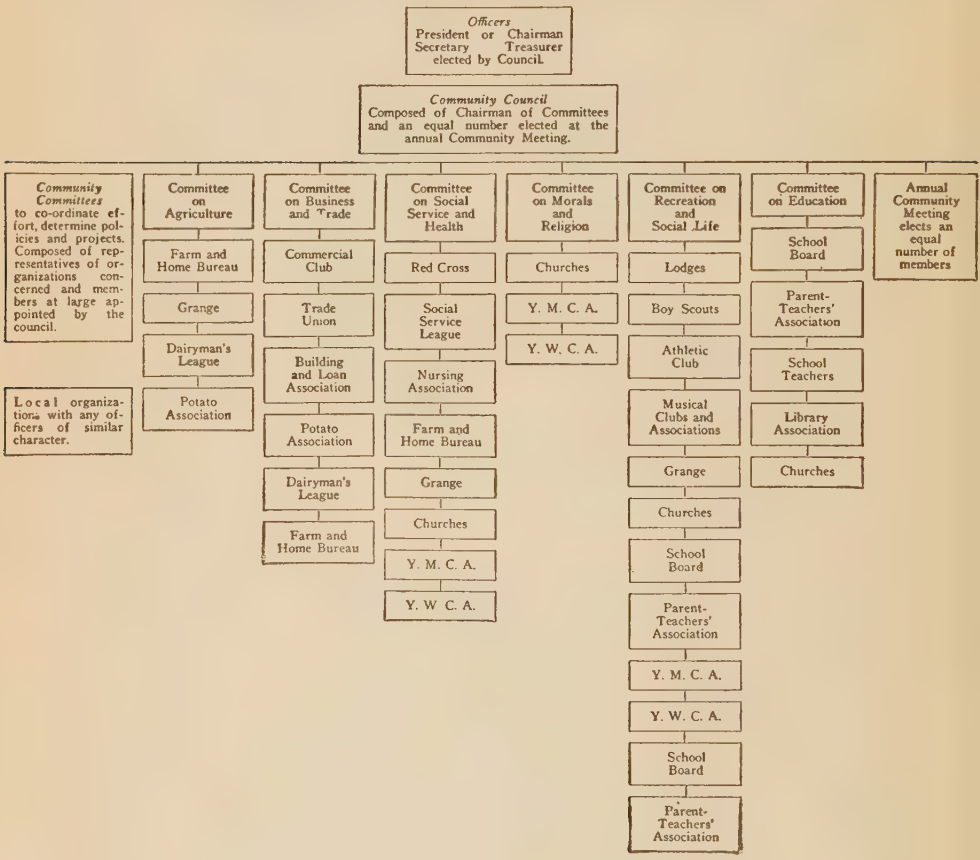
[2] *Proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference, 1920,* pp. 74-76. University of Chicago Press, 1920.

munity. If it would actually work according to the ideals which it espouses, it might accomplish the desired results, but it presupposes a degree of democracy which does not exist and it fails to recognize the natural allegiance of members of the community to special interest groups. The tendency of such community organizations is sometimes like that of some of our religious denominations which were organized to promote denominational unity, but which have resulted in adding new sects. . . . The second type is that which is fundamentally a federation of existing organizations in which the representation of the public is either absent or minimized. This is best illustrated in some of the so-called community organizations formed as a federation of social agencies in some of our larger cities. It has the obvious weakness of all federations in that the primary allegiance of each member is to the organization represented rather than the federation, and the federation is one of organizations rather than of interests. . . . The third type is a combination of the preceding, including in the council one representative from each community organization, or such as may be determined, and a certain number elected at large at the community meeting. This type has been well outlined by Professor E. L. Morgan and was also advocated by the Council of National Defense in its community organization work. It obtains the maximum advantage and the minimum disadvantage of each of the two preceding types, but it may not escape their difficulties. . . . If the purpose of community organization is to engage in the more important community enterprises which require united action, might it not be well to base the organization upon the principle of representation by common interests rather than by representation of existing organizations." Sanderson's plan of organization is shown on page 484.

"The different committees [3] would be composed of accredited delegates from all organizations concerned in the work of the respective committees. Thus the committee on agriculture would include the representatives of the grange, the local farm bureau committee, the boys' and girls' club work, the dairyman's league, potato-growers' association, and kindred groups. . . . Each organization, official, or institution would have representation on as many committees as were related to its field of work. . . . In a small community one local organization might form the committee for its special interest. Thus a parent-teachers' association or school improvement league might be constituted the committee on education, where it included most of those interested in the local school problems, and its

[3] *Proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference, 1920,* pp. 74-76. University of Chicago Press, 1920.

SUGGESTED PLAN OF ORGANIZATION FOR A COMMUNITY COUNCIL



functions could then be expanded to meet the educational needs of the community."

McClenahan [4] diagrams (Fig. 46) the Community Council plan. "The community council is a representative form of organization. It can best be used when there are a number of active societies in the community, each working in its own way, but with no co-operative program and often duplicating one another's efforts."

These various types of community organizations in their classification of committees adhere quite closely to the bureau idea, similar to the chamber of commerce. The pattern can also be found in the organization in the United States Department of Agriculture, United States Department of Labor and the departmental organization of colleges. Now, bureaus and departments are primarily concerned with research and extensions. Their work is investigation and propaganda. Thus, they will demarcate themselves according to the classifications of the various scientific fields of investigation, and the various types of social and economic problems. Thus committees on marketing, roads and transportation, moral welfare, education, citizenship, agriculture, home sanitation and improvement similar to those developed by bureaus and college departments will be instituted, the primary idea being the investigation and organization of such community problems as tend to group themselves around this analysis.

There can be little doubt that in the larger communities where leadership is well-trained in the technique of organizational work this plan will obtain excellent results. The chamber of commerce uses it with a considerable measure of success. There are, however, several factors in the plan which render it difficult to apply in many rural communities.

1. The departmental type of organization, used by governments and colleges to carry out specialized lines of research, is often too cumbersome and complex for rural leaders to work with.

2. It often tends towards an infinite multiplication of project committees which soon overtax the leadership resources of the community.

By appointing dozens of committees, of which less than one-third will function, the organizer gives the impression of doing a thorough piece of organizational work, for on the basis of such interests as parks, roads, markets, health, etc., committees can be multiplied *ad infinitum.*

3. There is always a difficulty in clearly demarcating the work of such committees as education, entertainment, recreation, moral welfare, health,

[4] McClenahan, B. A., *Organizing the Community,* p. 129. The Century Co., 1922.

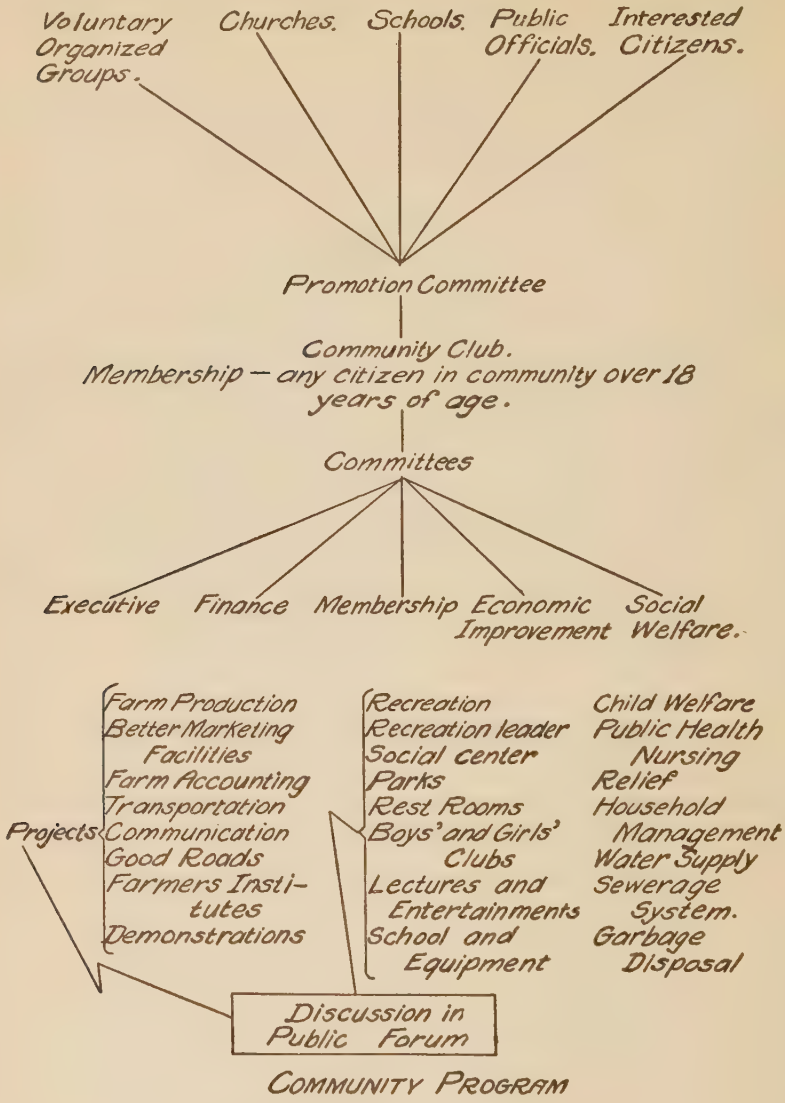


FIGURE 46

The Community Plan of Organization

religious work, and club work. Thus the committee on recreation may do the work of the entertainment committee, and the social committee the work of the moral welfare committees. The health committee may also

work as the committee on education, by educating people to health and hygiene work. Civic welfare would also legitimately include recreation, moral welfare, health, and recreation. Without definite fields with clearly defined, concrete projects, committees hesitate and delay.

4. To a large extent these bodies are committees of project, problem, and interest, rather than function. Thus a committee on roads or parks should not be co-ordinated with one on education or civic welfare. Furthermore, the gradation of committees in scope and importance is difficult when three systems of classification are used. By all means, in the classification and marking off of committees, there should be some clear-cut method of naming them.

5. Much of the work of these committees will be of an investigational and publicity nature. Thus, under this plan, the committee on roads or civic welfare will study these problems locally, gather circulars about them as a general problem, present the result at community meetings, write local newspaper articles dealing with the data, and inaugurate such projects as the studies suggest. Now to secure five or ten committees that require talent and skill for investigation, we need twenty or thirty capable people, who may easily be hired by a government or college department, but who are almost impossible to locate in the average rural community. On this account only the few committees fortunate enough to have capable people will make a showing, while the others will do nothing. Under this method "figure-heads" and "dead sticks" weigh down the organization.

The county plan of organization. In many sections of the country, on account of a sparse population or a different civil development, the county becomes more or less of a unit for organizing institutions, services, and agencies. Especially is this true where such services as the farm bureau, county nurse, home demonstration, or Y. M. C. A. require a paid expert.

In the United States the county is both a taxing power and an administrator of funds; and to facilitate this work it is divided into townships which have such functions as assessing, road work, and poor relief.

Thus, it is quite natural that social agencies would, at first, follow the more effective civil divisions. When such services as that of family rehabilitation and case work are needed, the county system facilitates the co-operation of the county worker with the board of supervisors, as is beautifully illustrated by the Iowa plan.

Some of the institutions or services organized under the county plan are:

1. The county high school, which occurs in Wisconsin, Illinois, and

other states, where the one-room schools standardize. Two or three country schools may consolidate to teach eight or nine grades, and then send the graduates to the county high school.

2. The county home for the poor and aged occurs in most states, but in many cases this is too small a unit for efficiency.

3. In California the county is given administrative powers over the almshouse, the jail, the detention home, the hospital, and the health officer. California also has a system of county public schools.

4. Minnesota and North Carolina also have county welfare boards, which co-ordinate the work of the charities, enforce laws pertaining to dependent and delinquent children, supervise maternity hospitals, and manage child-placing agencies.

5. In Iowa an effort has been made to organize county health associations, and to abolish the township assessor in favor of the county assessor.

Now, the county plan must have much local organization in order to function effectively.

Since no leader can intensively cover such a large area as a county, the county worker cannot do effective work unless he has the co-operation of local project and program leaders. Without local leadership he can do little more than proffer assistance in the way of securing speakers, outside talent, advertising, and boosting.

Furthermore, when communities have organized themselves properly and have a liaison with the government and college extension departments, there is a question as to whether the county worker will have such an essential function. He cannot act as a highly trained specialist on soils, markets, child welfare, and rural organization in the same way as the extension expert. At the same time he cannot compete with the local leaders, who are continually on the job. It may be that community leaders will use him mainly as a co-ordinating agency between the programs of different communities which may foster inter-community co-operative projects.

However, there are a number of agencies and services that should be organized upon the basis of 20,000 or 25,000 people. The city of this size organizes the service quite easily on account of its density of population. But with the "auto" it is possible to attain this 20,000 population unit within the confines of a rural county. Many lines of service have been suggested that are possible upon this county basis.

1. A county health association, with a nurse, a clinic, a dispensary, a hospital, an inspection and quarantine service. Many foundations are helping in the organization of counties to reduce infant mortality and to

check epidemics. For some types of service, particularly that of hospital work, the county is too small.

2. Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. work. This requires a paid secretary and perhaps a 20,000 to 25,000 population basis for adequate financing.

3. A social-service worker who could receive her pay from voluntary subscriptions and be given an official rating as overseer of the poor by the board of supervisors. She would disburse indoor and outdoor poor relief from tax funds. Within her area there would be from 200 to 300 cases of family maladjustment. Such an administration unit would finance an office, a typist, and assistant. Under the Iowa plan there is an interesting way of combining civil and voluntary authorities. Thus the social service worker who is financed by a voluntary social service league is made official overseer of the poor, while a county supervisor is placed on the board of directors of the local charity association. This board will, then, take its cue from the worker as to the type of relief to be given to any particular indigent family.

4. A county eugenic association.

5. Home demonstration and county agent work.

6. A county chamber of commerce with local branches in each town. In many counties this has been accomplished with the result that the commercial interests have been organized on an efficient basis with a paid secretary.

7. A county recreational association with a play director.

In every case, however, there must be a local recreational organization to get results from the county leader, who, to a large degree, is a consultation expert or extension worker.

There can be little doubt that there is a considerable field for organization work in the rural county, and that such work is the solution of many of the problems of organizing paid leadership agencies, which ordinarily require a city of 15,000 people and upwards, within the rural area.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Why has the overhead system of community organization been used by most of our churches, lodges, and farm associations in their early stages of development? Relate the educational status of a people with the type of government or organization that may be used. Relate the local type of organization "from the bottom up" with the development of a local leadership. What are the advantages and disadvantages of organizing from the top down? From the bottom up?

2. In how many ways may we combine the overhead type of organization with the local to gain the advantages of both? Name organizations that are using this hybrid type.
3. Point out the strong characteristics in the organizational plan of the chamber of commerce. Will it adapt itself to the smaller town or community? Discuss the purposes, projects and achievements of the chamber of commerce.
4. Discuss the farm bureau method of rural organization and point out its weak and strong features.
5. Give illustrations of the county plan of organization.

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CHAPTER XXII

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF SOCIAL CONTACTS

FUNCTIONAL OR SERVICE PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

This study of the production of social contacts should suggest some constructive plan for building a more efficient machine for socialization. Many of the suggested and projected plans must be tested in their ability to produce social contacts in quantity and quality before they should be universally urged. We are as yet in this stage of experimentation and organization, and so this plan is not offered as a universal solution for the community socialization problem, but is put out as one possibility, among a number, as something to try and test. One community which tried this plan, in part, attained much higher social efficiency than communities which followed other types of organization. Not only must all general systems of community organization be modified when they are applied to different communities, but the specific form which they take must always be guided by community, analysis and case-study. Theoretically, the method of organization, which may be termed the *functional,* should secure not only a greater number of contacts, but also a much better quality of contacts. In practical application there may be many parts of it which must be changed to make it fit communities in their present stage of social development. This plan assumes that there is a strong community spirit and that people will think first of themselves as performing recreationally, religiously, dramatically, intellectually, and forensically, rather than as members belonging to and being penned up within certain organizations. The plan assumes that the way in which an individual functions, as shown by his impressional and expressional life, is more significant than his membership in organizations or his support of them. We should realize, however, that it will take years of education and propaganda to spread this philosophy of community living. Partisanship and institutional patriotism are still strong in many quarters, yet the fact that a plan is somewhat too advanced for all communities is no argument that it should not be put forth as an ideal or goal. Organization plans must look forward and set goals which it will take decades to attain.

These plans should also follow the natural tendency of rural evolution, and work with human psychology rather than against it.

PURPOSES OF THE FUNCTIONAL PLAN—ITS PRINCIPLES

First, the functional plan aims at the production of a large number of social contacts, through exposing larger numbers of persons to social events. To accomplish this, partisan spirit, which reduces the size of audiences, must be replaced by community spirit which appeals to a larger group. There is something in the word *community* which breaks down narrow clannishness and challenges a broad, tolerant human viewpoint. Thus, to increase the audiences for given situations, we should strive not only to increase the number of community-promoted events, but to communityize the various organizational programs. Each organization should be so attached and related to the community that it would be regarded as community property, and worthy of the community's wholehearted support. At the same time the variety and scope of the situations would be increased by the development of specialized activities. Through consolidation of organizations by means of a community council, through the pooling of leadership and talent, and through the specialization of this leadership, such a result would be gained.

This first part of the scheme would thus include:

1. Community audiences of from 100 to 200 persons exposed to specialized musical, dramatic, lecture, and religious programs, executed by such specialized leaders as have been chosen from the leadership pool. This would promote both the quality and quantity of social contacts.

2. Organizational programs given to community rather than institutional audiences. Using this system, the Church, the Women's Civic Association, and the Farm Bureau would be given their evenings by the community with the understanding that their night shall be free from interference. Not the *Farm Bureau* program given to the *Farm Bureau crowd,* but the *Farm Bureau* program given to the *community's people* is the slogan.

Second, the functional plan aims to attain a variety of social contacts through special committees which develop pageants, plays, musicals, choral meets, play days, festivals, lecture courses, motion pictures, and educational shows, or, in brief, to organize conscious effort to create a large variety of social-exposure situations of the A type. This is only accomplished by a pool of the leaders of various organizations and an assignment of their tasks according to their special abilities rather than the needs and ex-

igencies of the organization. Jones leads singing in church because the church must have a song leader, and because talent of this kind is scarce. Jones has mediocre ability in music, but outstanding talent in dramatics. In the community leadership staff, he is assigned the dramatic work, because he is best fitted to do this work, and because out of the various leaders in the community there are others to lead music. Since most communities suffer social malnutrition because they lack contacts of certain types, they seek the city life with its greater variety of social-exposure situations. The rural community, including 1000 to 2000 people in the town and trade area, is large enough to attain a specialization of social contacts approaching that of the city.

Third, the functional plan aims to adequately market talent under specialized leaders. Erwin conducted a talent survey of Colo, Iowa—a community of about 1200-1400 with a trade center of 600—and found the following numbers of talented persons.

Sopranos	26	Accordion	1	Cornet	6	Public Speaking ...	10
Altos	18	Mouth Harp..	7	Trombone	3	Piano	56
Tenors	14	Melophone	3	Humorous Selections ..	25	Lecture Work.	19
Basses	4	Guitar	6	Impersonators.	9	Debating	47
Yodels	3	Ukelele	8	Dramatics	25		
Violin	16	Mandolin	1				

This is an imposing array of professional and amateur talent for a medium-sized community. To sell such ability requires a simple but specialized agency. The community, with its socially starved individuals, furnishes plenty of buyers for home talent. The following schematic diagram visualizes the talent market.

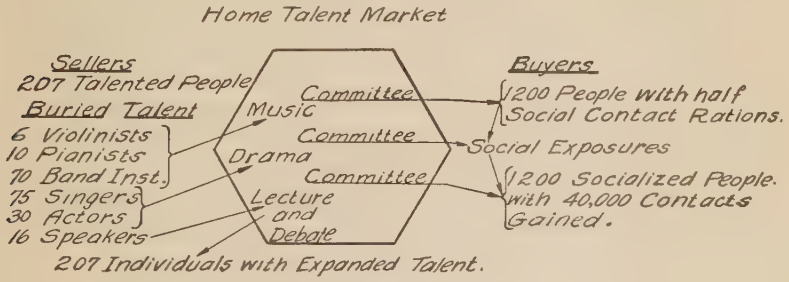

FIGURE 47

The Community Sells Its Buried Talent to Itself

Fourth, the functional system of community organization seeks to express the social life of the community through activities rather than through institutions. In many cases, however, organizations absorb the

time and energy of their individuals, not in developing their cultural and social personalities, but in enslaving them to the turning of organizational machinery. With too many separate organizations, the community's leisure time is absorbed in turning the wheels of various committees. The roar of organizational wheels does not mean that they are grinding the grist of social contacts. They may be running empty. Now we have noted that man receives the impressions that socialize him from certain sources or types of social-exposure situations. We have attempted to increase these so that the impressional side of his nature may function. But man also functions through certain types of participation and expression. Drama, music, fun, reverence, worship, artistic creations, speeches, debates, and study are products of this functioning. There are few communities which perform efficiently in over two or three of these activities, despite the fact that they have 20 to 30 socializing organizations. This plan changes our goal from institutions to functions and enables people to develop social activity with a minimum of organizations.

Fifth, the functional plan will organize the community's socializing machinery, not only to impress the maximum-sized groups with the best of trained performers, but to co-ordinate mutually-supporting functions. To do this an organization or bureau of some kind is needed, and so the functional plan of community organization purports to serve the community not with institutions, agencies, or officials, but with activities put on and operated by the best qualified people in each line, working not for their organization but for their community. Thus service comes to mean opportunity for impression, as well as for expression, along these different lines. From this angle we term it the service plan, which presents the various individuals and organizations with a dramatic, lecture, motion picture, music, recreational, and study service. Each adult individual in rural districts has about 1300 hours to work out this equation of life. How well is the community organized to assist him in this work? Can it make its citizens realize that people and communities may function under a series of activity-committees under specialized leaders, as well as through a burdensome mass of isolated organizations? Can it see that organization is but a means to an end?

Sixth, this functional method would institute community committees or bureaus, which would follow two or three lines of classification. The first one would be function; the second would be the vital services necessary to create a large supply of diversified contact.

The following is a schematic arrangement of committees or service bureaus based upon this plan of talent utilization, function, and service.

Talent and leadership are manifest in:	Study, music, drama, play, speech, worship.
The community functions:	Studiously, dramatically, musically, oratorically, recreationally, and religiously.
Services which create valuable social contacts and facilitate program work are:	Motion picture service, library and book service, financial service, social service, exhibition and investigation service, publicity and propaganda service.

This demarcation of community committee work bases itself on the principle that any organization must to a large extent offer certain elements in its program, such as:

1. Good music.
2. Good drama.
3. Lectures, debates, speeches. Illustrated lectures. Slides and films.
4. Recreation, games, athletics, hikes, play, entertainment, etc.
5. Religion and morality.
6. Study, investigation, and demonstration.
   - *a.* Exhibits.
   - *b.* Charts.
   - *c.* Slides and films.
   - *d.* Bulletins and books.
   - *e.* Educational lectures.
7. Philanthropy and humanitarian service.
8. Publicity, propaganda, and advertising.
9. General management, finance, and official direction.

This plan of dividing labor between committees and leaders holds that most organizations must limit themselves to a few of these enumerated activities. There are, however, many rural organizations that under the pressure of ambitious promoters attempt to cover the entire circle. Since there are comparatively few people who belong to more than two or three major organizations, it is quite clear that the members of any particular organization should be served in many of these ways. Because of this condition organizations attempt many of these lines in order to satisfy their membership. Yet it is quite evident that an organization with a membership of 50 or 60 cannot find the talent or leadership for such a program. Furthermore, under the psychology of competition and imitation, they are likely to attempt the same things which the other local organizations are doing. Only occasionally can a dynamic organization

socialize a community. Thus, Reverend McNutt[1] organized music in his church in the form of orchestras, choral clubs, quartettes, and public speaking in the form of oratorical contests. Dramatics, study courses, recreation, games, and athletic contests complete his schedule. Mr. McNutt was a versatile man and engineered an institution that was a natural community center. His breadth of vision as to the needs of rural social nutrition was applied in a functional and serviceable form of organization.

Again, in many organizations, there is one versatile leader who tries to do the work of ten men rather than set ten men to work; if new activities are added, he tries to lead them.

In our final consideration of the principles of the functional plan, let us note that rural organizations often show lack of growth and vitality because of poor program machinery. Local organizations spring up under the desire to crusade in some national movement to gain shorter hours of work, cheaper freight rates, economic justice for the farmer or to lessen middlemen's profits. Such crusading organizations believe that they will thrive on the thought and impetus of their cause, but are likely to descend to earth, and find that their main task is ministering to the human wants of their members along such lines as music, study, and drama. Some states, recognizing this as a problem, are extending monthly program service to organizations.

The functional or service type of organization would directly proceed to organize and institute, under community direction, such leadership, committees, talent surveys, and services as would guide the community through a comprehensive and vital program. It is not thinking primarily of pet projects, investigation departments, or an imposing array of organizational structures, but it is rather looking towards the formation of social contacts under the most effective conditions. In brief, it would endeavor to build for each community an efficient social-contact machine.

CO-ORDINATION OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES, INSTITUTIONS, AND PROGRAMS UNDER THE FUNCTIONAL PLAN—THE COMMUNITY CABINET

In the functional plan of organization, there should be some centralized agency to act as a co-ordinator and clearing house for the various socializing forces in the community. In this regard it could use the community council, the community bureau, or the community association, as in the departmental plans of community organization. One of the fundamental considerations is to pool the talent and leadership of the various organiza-

[1] "Ten Years in a Country Church," *World's Work*, December, 1910.

tions in the community, so that they may be harnessed directly to the task of community socialization. The various service function committees or bureaus must anchor to some central organization or institution with a board, an executive committee, and responsible persons. Otherwise these bureaus are likely to conflict with each other.

There are several possible ways of obtaining this central agency or community clearing house, which might be termed Community Directorate, Community Bureau, Community Service Bureau, Community Association, Community Council, Community Parliament, Community Conference, or Community Cabinet.

1. This central directorate or cabinet may be formed by the direct method of electing a council of 3, 5, or 7 members at a general community meeting. The objection is raised here that this merely introduces another organization. Furthermore, the existing organizations are apt to have little liaison with it.

2. By the indirect method, this council or cabinet may be formed, as has been suggested by Carver, Morgan and others, through the selection of delegates not only from various organizations but from the community at large.

3. The different types of leaders may be called together and organized into a service bureau along the lines indicated, with the idea that the various organizations and projects could have specialized service in the way of music, lectures, reading material, films, dramatics and exhibits, study and demonstration. This cabinet would exist as a sort of "putting over agency." It would compute the musical, dramatic, publicity, lecture, motion picture, and recreational requirements of the major organizations, and then render these services to them in such a way that their programs would be staged for the community. Through this community center, the various organizations, such as the Farm Bureau, Parent-Teachers' Association, Women's Civic Club, Commercial Club, Boy Scouts, could each be assigned their community night on the program calendar. They would hold their meetings at the community center, to emphasize their particular interest, with the help of the expert program service from the Community Talent or Leadership Bureau. Singing, drama, speaking, lectures, debates, films, recreation, and exhibits appropriate to their organization would be furnished by this Service Bureau. In this way the community leaders and talented people would not only obtain the aid of other leaders for boosting their town organization, but they would also give their ability to other organizations.

In this regard we should note, first, that organizational clannishness

will never be broken down except through liberal workers who have cultured and broad interests.

Second, we should note that no organization with its particular interest in the community would suffer through the drafting of its leaders and talent into community service. On the other hand, it would benefit. Within such communities in Western Iowa as possessed a community association, the independent organizations, such as churches, lodges, and farm bureaus, were much stronger than the average.

Finally, we should realize that it is always easier to organize leaders than the rank and file of organizations. Boards of trustees and directors are generally old men who abhor the new, while the leaders are generally younger people with progressive ideas. The organizer often gives up his effort to form a central agency when he fails to get the older boards of trustees, who have strongly ingrained, organizational consciousness, together.

4. Representatives of various community interests may arrange an informal, round-the-table-cabinet to discuss certain community projects. A community Thanksgiving, community choral work, a community band, a community playground, a community motion picture service, community exhibit work, child welfare campaigns, clean-up movements, community institutes, community religious "come-to-church" Sundays, community Fourth of July, a community Christmas tree, a Boy Scout troop, etc., are topics which can legitimately be discussed at such a cabinet.

The formality of selecting these delegates at a business meeting of the organization need not be carried out. The official head of one organization may invite in the mayor, the American Legion president, the Women's Civic Association president, the Farm Bureau president, the two ministers of the town, for an informal talk-it-over meeting. There is something contagious and suggestive in five or six community leaders meeting to talk about the welfare of their community. Gradually the habit will form of meeting whenever there is community work to do, and this will be ever on the increase. Thus the informal, temporary organization will evolve into a permanent organization. Thus will the foundation be laid for a set of service agencies radiating out as spokes from a hub. Thus will there be built an effective coördinating agency.

5. In some communities one organization has a powerful foothold and practically represents the community. Since factions outside of this organization are negligible, the trustees or directors of this organization are the natural community body. Without further bother the organizer can build his service bureaus upon this foundation. We have worked over

the top of an old "organizational tree" with a modern community program, to make it yield a larger quantity and better quality of social contacts.

Where a community organization already exists, there is no need of creating a new one. We only need to proceed with the organization of service committees or bureaus as a sort of superstructure, since as "sprouts," grafted upon a central trunk, they will be certain to co-ordinate. Such a condition exists where a school, a church, a community club, a parent-teachers' association, or a farm bureau dominates the situation. In many communities the task of the social engineer is to "top-work" an old organization rather than to "plant" a new one.

SELECTION OF COMMITTEES FOR ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES UPON THE FUNCTIONAL AND SERVICE BASIS

With these two viewpoints, we have a suggestion as to what lines of committee or bureau work should be instituted on a community scale. Let us then designate the committees, and indicate both their scope of work and their type of projects. The diagrams shown on pages 500, 501, and 502 give an idea of the schematic arrangement of service bureaus within a community association.

The various service agents or committeemen should not be elected at a community meeting on the basis of popularity; for this has been one weakness in community organization. These directors are more or less technicians and specialists, and should be carefully chosen by the community cabinet with special reference to their training, ability, enthusiasm, and leadership qualities. Unless this is done, failure is invited at the very outset, and nepotism, favoritism, and "wire-pulling" will inevitably wreck the best efforts of willing workers.

The various services will be instituted one by one as leaders can be found and as there are funds available, although, in many instances, certain well-established organizations are rendering some of the services to the community and there can be no call for duplication. In most communities, however, several of these services are needed to bring the various organizations and their programs up to par. Certain concepts should always be held before the community as a sort of gospel philosophy.

1. That this organization is but a co-ordinated group of leaders, performers, service bureaus, or agencies working for the community.

2. That, through this cabinet and its related service bureaus, the programs of the various organizations can be communityized, and linked up with a general community scheme.

	Service Bureaus with Service Agents	*Projects-Activities*
Community Cabinet	Exhibition	Arrange community exhibits of playground work. Manual training, home economics, agriculture, baby shows, home convenience demonstrations, demonstrations on pruning trees, culling hens, canning, etc. Exhibits at fairs. Arrange for charts, slides, traveling exhibits from United States Department of Agriculture Extension.
	Publicity	Write-ups of local events, feature articles, community calendars, booster parades, boosting announcements. See that various organizations get publicity. Mimeograph advertising letters. Community maps of trade and banking territory.
	Social Welfare	Educate community on family case work, poverty and relief. Christmas gifts to needy. Relief work. Co-operate with county social-service worker or Red Cross. Report cases to church and other organizations. Investigate dependent and delinquent cases. Juvenile probation work. Guard community against imposters. Charity entertainments. Visitation of poor farms and needy families in home. Lists or memoranda of cases needing relief.
	Study and Investigation	Secure data and facts on such community problems as transportation, roads, health, consolidated schools, churches, child welfare, recreation, markets, taxation, etc., through bulletins, legislative reports and surveys. Conduct surveys along these various lines, and turn over to publicity committee. Secure co-operation of various organizations in making such studies and surveys.

	Bureaus	*Activities* *Projects-Programs*
Community Cabinet or Council. Community Service Bureau. Executive Committee Finance Committee Trustees of Building	Music	Community band, Musical library.
		Choral society, Cantatas.
		Operettas, Quartettes.
		Orchestra.
		Music for churches, clubs, etc.
		Lead community singing, prepare sing-slides.
		Open-air concerts.
		Musical memory contests.
		Import musical numbers for lyceums.
		Community lecture courses.
		Inventory and survey of musicians.
		Music in school and home.
		Better music week.
		Home talent depots.
	Drama	Community plays and pageants.
		Drill talent for minstrels, dialogues.
		Library of plays.
		Survey of dramatic talent.
		Little Country Theater.
		Playlets for churches, farm bureaus, etc.
	Lecture, Debate, Instruction, and Demonstration	List of speakers.
		Community lecture course.
		Supply local or imported lecturers to various organizations. Lecturers for community forum or chautauqua.
		Debates, "extempo" contests.
		List of local speakers and their repertoire.
		Connect with county agent and extension departments.
		Drill talented young men.
	Motion Picture	Local censorship.
		Educational community "movies."
		Utilize free films from college extension departments.
		Film and picture service to lodges, churches, farm bureaus, clubs, etc.

	Bureaus	*Projects—Activities*
Community Cabinet (Continued)	Reception and Entertainment	List of homes which can entertain. Assignment of out-of-town visitors to these homes. Meet newcomers at train and introduce to town. Guide visitors to points of interest.
	Library, Reading Material (If a local librarian exists, she should be on this committee.)	Educate community to better books. Secure library facilities. Organize traveling libraries. A book, magazine, and phonograph record exchange. Liaison with county library or state library. Reference shelves for various study circles. Put on better-book program. Work for school library.
	Moral and Religious Welfare	Conference of ministers on arrangement of community religious evenings; church surveys; lectures; talks on sex, manhood, character-building, cigarettes, purity, etc. Religious training courses in school. Secure church co-operation for Boy Scouts, Girls Campfire, Christmas, Mother's Day, Thanksgiving Day, etc. Schedule lectures, slides, films on moral subjects.
	Refreshments	Menus, schedules for banquets, suppers, etc. Table and chair service. Waiting service.

3. That, through this cabinet, order can be brought out of chaos and a community calendar of events and projects be brought into being.

4. That it is not destructive but constructive. It does not conflict or compete; it merely serves.

5. That this cabinet, with its service agencies, means the emergence of a long-time program for the community and its various organizations. Projects and work can be assigned upon the principle of the division of labor.

6. That the best leaders chosen from small organizations are specialized in their chosen work to lead their type of talent.

7. That this organization has a wide range of adaptability and is a natural evolution.

8. That it gives leaders a chance to prosecute their favorite avocation, and to work for the community.

These committees or service bureaus become talent developers for the community. They constitute the agency which we have described as a talent market. Many of the committees are named after certain types of talent, and are thus able to "check up" on the way in which the com-

munity program functions. Not only do they take a talent inventory of the musicians, actors, and speakers in the community, professional as well as amateur, but they develop and "sell" this talent to the community. Often they may even set new standards by importing outside professional talent to assist and inspire the locals.

Gradually the community organizations look towards this service bureau for help with their programs. If the farm bureau desires song service, it calls upon the music service agent who gives it several orchestra, quartette, or glee club members. Churches will use it on Sunday, while the community association will request its service for the ever-growing community occasions. People are tending, more and more, to do things not in a church, club, or clique way, but in a community way.

One of the hopes of this organization is the gradual shift to the community program. A community service bureau, putting on organizational programs for organizations, is to some extent a contradiction. We remedy this when the community service bureau puts on the various organizational programs for the community. There is not an inherent reason why a religious lecture, put on under the auspices of the religious welfare committee of the community association, does not give as many good contacts as when it is put on under the auspices of this or that church. The vested interests in the form of traditional institutions often act as a sort of "middleman" between the community and the people. But why should not people receive their lecture, musical, and dramatic contacts direct from a community association, rather than through ten or twenty different organizations?

Another possible result of the consolidated, community service bureau is *a long-time development program for talent and projects.* Ordinarily singers and speakers are given a very short notice as to their invitation to appear on a program—which leaves out many amateurs, and tends to give all the work to practiced and experienced performers. Not only are few programs planned much in advance, but few communities have an idea, from month to month, as to what type of talent they will need for their performances. Under such conditions there is little incentive for the talented individuals to "practice up" a repertoire.

Now, with a community calendar, talented individuals of various types will begin the practice necessary for supplying so many plays, musical numbers, and speeches six months or a year in advance, with the result that numbers will be skillfully rendered and amateur talent given time to develop. For talent will be "practicing up" ahead of time with the knowledge that it will be called upon.

STEPS IN THE PROCESS OF ATTAINING COMMUNITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations must get the habit of talking things over with each other about their community, while rural citizens must form the notion of doing things in a community way. A community cabinet, council, bureau, or directorate entails a background of community spirit—a stage which many communities have not reached, because certain influences, such as immigration of foreign races, bad roads, and poor schools, have retarded them. When you talk about community work, their minds are a blank. It suggests nothing to them. With most people knowledge is a matter of a visible, actual demonstration. They must see to believe.

On this account we must sometimes put the community through a period of propaganda and publicity to engender the spirit of doing things on a community rather than upon an institutional scale. If you tell a man enough times that he is sick, he is likely to become ill from the weight of massed suggestions. When people are reminded from press column, forum, sermon, and survey, that they have a community with its problems and that they are naturally co-operators, the suggestion of "communityism" grows, and the philosophy of mutual aid gradually takes root. There are several means of developing the community habit.

1. Partial and sample surveys that project the community problems that can only be solved by community effort. This tends to focus the attention of all organizations upon the community.

2. Development of a community spirit. Many organizations have a broad vision which cuts across factional alignments and challenges community effort. Parent-teachers' associations, bands, Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, inter-church councils, libraries, and playground associations tend to secure not only the co-operation of several organizations but to become community affairs. In many communities such services and agencies unite the community for such a function. Through common effort to make these activities a success, community spirit is engendered.

3. Meetings of a community character. In many communities the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation is growing through such events as the Community Christmas, the Community Fair, the Neighborhood Play Day, the Community Sing, the Community Calendar, the Union Revival Meeting, the Vesper Service, the Community Pageant, the Co-operative Thanksgiving, the Community Fourth of July, and the Community Chautauqua.

Unconsciously people are learning that it pays to do things in a com-

munity way, and, to that extent, are forgetting organizational consciousness. In this way, organizational consciousness is not pushed out by vituperation and open antagonism, but is gradually replaced by the natural growth of "communityism."

4. The institution of two or three arms of community service in an informal way by some enthusiastic individual or organization. Thus, in one community, a lady runs a community information bureau, while in another a record or book exchange is operated. Service along the lines of music, lectures, and motion picture films has been instituted by school superintendents for community benefit.

5. The talk-it-over meetings. The ministers, the school superintendent, the mayor of the town, the presidents of the Farm Bureau, Women's Club, and American Legion call an informal "get-together" meeting to talk over their plans for the coming year, to get acquainted and to catch the fine Christian spirit of co-operation. They feel like bigger men with a large community vision; they find that there are many things which they can do together and that, after all, they are not independent but mutually dependent; they discover that the failure of one organization affects the future of every other, that if the church fails to function, the school suffers. There is something compelling and powerful in the spectacle of these leaders talking about their common interests. Out of such meetings can come the community calendar or cabinet. When the various community events such as Fourth of July, Chautauqua, Fair, and Institute are put on, these representative individuals naturally come together to discuss ways and means. Unconscious suggestion of "communityism" sometimes succeeds much better than conscious suggestion. In this community body we have an incipient community clearing house, and the basis for the establishment of various community services.

6. The consolidated school and the community center. The town and its trade territory are within one common administrative area, and so face together one of their greatest problems, namely, that of educating their children. This school is a community institution, and should be environed with community agencies.

LINKING THE LOCAL COMMUNITY SERVICE WITH THAT OF OTHER COMMUNITIES

We have noticed the need of county organization for some activities. This may be built from the top down by a county leader through the planning of his program with local leaders in different communities, or it

may come about through an association of community cabinets within a county, for the purpose of doing work of an inter-community character. We have also noted that when the roads are good the autos can assemble from the far corners of a county within an hour's time. Thus a glee club may enter the auto at Smith's siding, travel 20 miles to Orange Grove to give a complimentary program, and return the same evening. Certainly we should not marvel at a rapid growth of inter-community musical, debating, and athletic contests.

Furthermore there are certain services which can be efficiently organized only on an inter-community basis. Among these are:

1. Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A.
2. Eugenic and health work. Nursing work.
3. Social service work by a paid expert.
4. Chautauqua work.
5. County agents and commercial club secretaries as paid experts.

Some of these institutions have already been organized from the "top down" through government subsidization. It is, however, likely that many of these activities will have to be built from the "bottom up" to make them secure. In some instances county Y. M. C. A. work or county agent work depends upon the power of one man working against local apathy. In the other instances, such work has the support of five or six strong community bureaus with their corps of leaders. The failure to start organizing from the "bottom up" has been a weakness in all of our county work, for it has too often left the county association suspended in mid-air.

Finally, we are approaching a new era in organizational work in which the county will, to a greater degree, look like an inter-community cabinet, composed of the cabinets from many communities. Through it may be instituted a pool of county leaders and talent to put on some of the more grandiose projects.

THE TALENT CIRCUIT

One of the possibilities of inter-community work is the talent circuit, which is attained when a certain circle of communities organize a program route with the understanding that each will make certain contributions to an inter-community, chautauqua or lecture course.

1. Each community on the circuit undertakes to develop so many lectures, dramas, cantatas, feature sermons, and exhibits.

2. These numbers are repeated in each of the four or five communities on the circuit.

3. The numbers may be repeated in the form of a chautauqua during the summer. These four or five communities in the talent-and-program ring would own a tent which would traverse the circuit.

4. Films and projectors could also take the circuit, so that their use could be multiplied five times. It is known that films are sent into a county or town and back again. Then within a few days they are sent to a neighboring town. Hence, special rates could be obtained by several communities arranging for presentations of the film while it was in a given locality.

5. Speakers, traveling libraries, exhibits, and demonstrations could be used on the circuit rather than by one isolated community. Thus more social contacts could be gained with the investment of a dollar.

Through this system, a first-class program number developed in one community can reach five times as many people, so enabling a given investment of time and effort in training talent to be five times as productive socially. Furthermore, each community specializes and throws in energy on some production which it has special talent for and thus serves five times as many people with first-class programs.

Under this plan, films, charts, and exhibits would be used by five times as many localities within a given area, while exchanges of books, sermons, and records could also be arranged through an inter-community cabinet.

Through the community circuit we are organizing the production of social contacts and community organization upon a basis of 15,000 or 20,000 people—even in a rural county. Thus we attain the specialization of city society without changing geographical density. Thus we turn the automobile to sociological advantage.

The principle of talent circuits and inter-community projects may be visualized in Figure 48.

We have progressed in our unit of organization from neighborhood to community. It is logical that we shall progress from community to a circle of communities. Particularly will this be true with a group of hamlets or small villages that cannot attain enough specialization for a high-quality community program.

Inter-community work over-arches the spirit of factionalism and familism, for inter-community contests are generally upon a higher plane of sportsmanship than local contests.

Instead of diminishing community spirit, we shall greatly stimulate it through inter-community contests. "Rooting" for your community will soon mean that you will "boost" for it. Inter-community organization will mean a new era in socialization and the rise to a new sociological

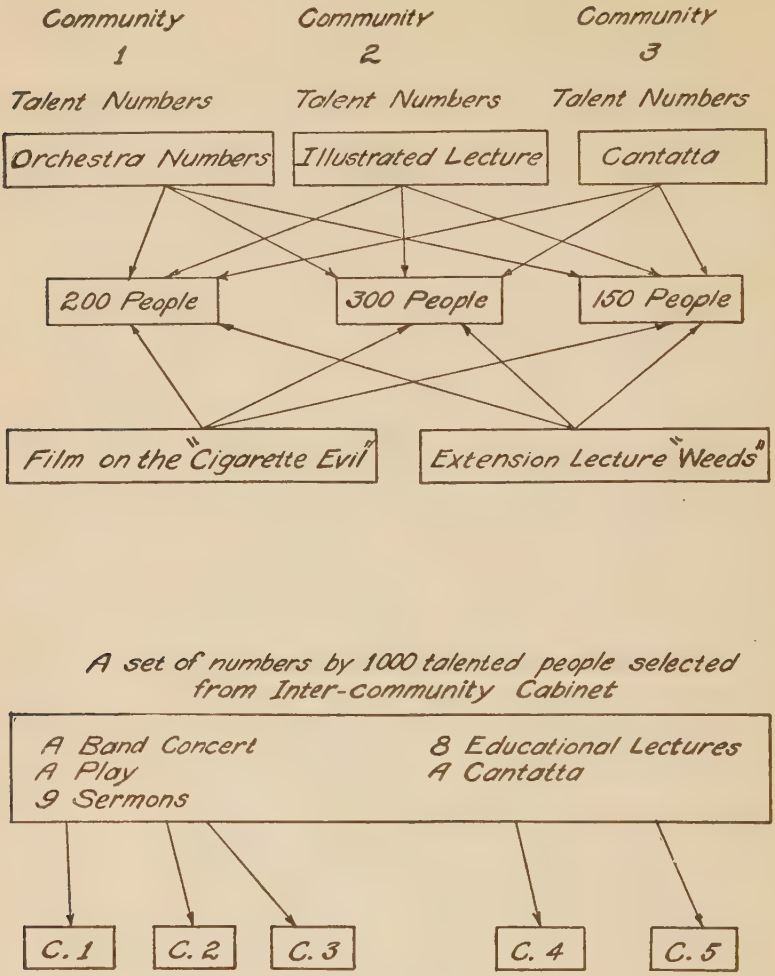

FIGURE 48
The Talent Circuit

level in the country. We can look forward with optimism and faith in our efforts to socialize rural life.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS

1. Is there any standard type of community organization which will fit all communities? Why? What do we mean by "adaptation to

local conditions"? Show how the type of people, general level of intelligence, the existence of a capable leadership, the co-operative spirit between existing factions, the institutional history, etc., all have a bearing upon how far we can go in developing a scientific method of community organization.

2. What do we mean by the *functional* or *service* plan of community organization? To what extent does it assume the substitution of community loyalty for organizational loyalty?
3. What are the purposes of this plan of community organization? Show how it differs from other plans. Distinguish between communityized audiences and institutionalized audiences. Is "communityism" possible in the city neighborhood? Show how zoning and selective colonization in the city makes community life possible.
4. Can an organizational program be communityized? Show how the functional plan can present specialized talent, performing under specialized leadership. Has talent utilization been sufficiently stressed in community organization effort? Why?
5. Diagram the functional type of community organization. How does it differ from the departmental type? The institutional type? Outline the different types of services and service bureaus that would be instituted under this plan.
6. Show how this plan of community organization actually strengthens the work of other organizations instead of displacing them. Should the church or the farm bureau oppose an association of service bureaus?
7. Show how this type of community organization adds to the quantity and quality of social contacts. Show how numerous projects that raise the standard of community life can be easily inaugurated through service bureaus. Show how a long-time community program may be worked out through a community cabinet.
8. Adapt the functional type of community organization to the small community.
9. Work out a list of possible projects for your community that will give it something to strive for during the next five years. Which will you start first? Why? Place the projects under the proper service committees.
10. What is meant by a "community calendar"? Show how it may eliminate duplicating and conflicting events which are staged by the various organizations.
11. What stages are inevitable in the transition from organizational

patriotism to community patriotism? What particular things assist greatly in building a community psychology?

12. How may communities link their talent and leadership?

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INDEX

Absentee ministry, 431.
Acquisitiveness among rural people, 279.
Acre economy, 96.
Adaptation of organization to community, 444, 445.
Age composition of rural people, 145.
Agricultural Journal, 375, 376.
Agricultural ladder in United States, 233.
Agriculture, standardization of, 260.
Ammon, 254.
Anti-social individuals, 15; religion, 17, 19.
Artistic ability of farmer, 277.
Asceticism, 364.
Association, 285; local, 285; primary, 308; qualitative, 262; quantitative, 262.
Athletics, 388.
Attitudes, social, 49.
Atwood, 373, 374, 375.
Autocratic theory of human relations, 363.
Automobile in country, 187; influence on break-up of village, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179.

Balanced expression, 48.
Betts, 47.
Birth rate, rural and urban compared, 139.
Bizzell, 96, 239, 240.
Books, appreciation of, 383, 384.
Boys' and girls' clubs, 394, 395.
Business men's clubs, 396.
Butterfield, 7, 263.

Calculation of social contacts, 72, 73.
Capital of farmer, peculiarities of, 286, 287, 288.
Capitalistic agriculture, 267.
Caste spirit in the large community, 417.
Censorship of motion picture, 379.
Chamber of commerce, plan of community organization, 473, 474, 475.
Chautauqua, 401.
Christianity and sociology, 362, 363, 364.
Church, 129, 130, 301, 302, 358, 359, 360; farmers' choice of, 302; function of, 358, 359, 360; rural membership in, 129, 130; social contacts through, 360, 361.
Citizenship education, 16.
City community, social efficiency of, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422.
Civilization, relation to communication, 168.
Clannishness, 31.
Class consciousness, 11, 33; among farmers, 11; relation to socialization, 33.
Classification of communities, 455.
Cliques in country, 262.
Colonization of model communities, 423.
Commercial community, 303, 304.
Committees, 485; for community work, 485, 486, 487; for service to community under functional plan of organization, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503.
Community, 290; cabinet, 496, 497, 498; council, 482, 483, 484, 485; club, 486, 487; community church, 23, 370, 371, 372; expansion of farmers' community, 294; development of socialization in, 12; efficiency of, 124, 125; mapping of, 464, 465; natural community, 290.
Communal villages, 226, 227.
Communism, 260.
Community analysis, economic, 457, 458; geographical, 460, 461; historical, 459, 460; population, 458, 459; socialization, 461, 462, 463, 464.

Community as a socializing mechanism, 72.
Community engineering, 407.
Community life, 163; influence of topography upon, 163, 164, 165; survival of the economic and social aspects of, 315, 316; trade as a basis of, 299.
Community of interest, 315, 316.
Community organization, 406, 407, 441; county plan, 487, 488, 489; departmental plan, 485, 486; functional plan, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508; institutional system, 480, 481, 482, 483; local system, 467, 468, 469, 470; overhead system, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471; Morgan plan, 483.
Community program, 446; building of, 446, 500, 501, 502; projects for, 500, 501, 502.
Community spirit, attainment of, 504, 505.
Community structure, 311, 312.
Community survey, difficulties of, 67; publicity of, 456; sources of information for, 456.
Community thought, organization of, 446, 447, 448, 449.
Community will, organization of, 448, 449.
Communityization, 226.
"Communityized" churches, 369, 370.
Comte, on scientific method, 60.
Conflicting events, 464.
Congenial associates, 203.
Conservation of ego, 320.
Conservation of human resources, 4, 5.
Consolidated schools, 220, 354, 355.
Consolidation, principle of, 428, 429.
Consumption of luxuries, 104; physical utilities, 24; psychic utilities, laws of, 29.
Cooley, 22, 24, 26, 36.
Co-operation among farmers, 11; of leaders, 445.
Co-operative movements, 268; projects, 10.
Co-ordination of social agencies, 446, 472, 496, 497, 498.
Cost-consumption-unit, 99, 110.
Costs of living on farms, 99; of social contacts, 123.
Country weekly, future of, 374, 375.
County plan of organization, 487, 488, 489.
Criminality of rural people, 147, 148.
Crowds, in country, 261.
Culture, heredity of, 334; of tenant farmer, 243; transmission mechanism for, 335.
Curiosity among rural people, 279.
Custom in the rural community, 262.

Dancing in rural communities, 386, 387.
Davenport, 144.
Decadence of small town, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179.
Decrease in farm people, 152, 153.
Defects of physical nature among rural people, 143, 144.
Deflation of personality, 320.
Democracy in rural organization, 441, 442.
Demography of rural community, 290, 291, 292.
DeS. Brunner, 365, 366.
Deterioration of rural stock, 158, 159.
Deyoe, 346.
Diminishing returns in socialization, 215.
Divorce in country, 142, 143.
Dixon, 103.
Douglas, 153, 154.
Duplicating agencies, 481, 482.
Duplicating programs, 464.
Dyer, 383, 384.

Economic farms, 93, 94, 99, 215, 216, 218.
Economic markets and social utilities, 27.
Economic organization compared to social organization, 30.
Economic prosperity, 12, 24, 35; relation to higher living standards, 14.
Economic stability of small town, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179.
Education, 92; commercialization of, 15; relation to sociology, 15; relation to standard of life, 97; social concept of, 14, 15, 16, 342, 343,

344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349; of tenant farmer, 237.
Efficiency of organization, 114.
Ely, 162, 234.
Engel, 21, 87.
Eugenics for rural people, 158, 159.
European agriculture, 95.
Evolution of rural society, 168, 169.
Evolution, social compared to biological, 430.
Expansion of self through socialization, 50.
Expression, 82.
Expressional events of rural and city children, 79, 82.
Expressional method of measuring social life, 70.
Extension of education beyond school, 356.

Familism, 260.
Family impulse in country, 280, 281.
Family life in country, 135.
Farm bureau, 478, 479, 480.
Farm, contribution to farmers' living, 103; organizations, 131, 132, 247.
Farmer, 102; as capitalist, 102; participation in social life of town, 417, 418.
Farmers' clubs, 393, 394, 395.
Farmer's home, 106, 107.
Farmer's library, 383, 384.
Farmers' organizations in the United States, 338.
Farmers' standard of life, 98, 102.
Farmers' tasks, laborious character of, 195, 196, 197, 198.
Fashion and fad in country, 104.
Fatigue among rural people, 192; effects upon farmer, 194, 195; factors in, 198, 199; mitigants of, 203, 204, 205; nature of, 192, 193.
Federated church, 370.
Folk depletion, 10, 154, 155, 156.
Functional plan of community organization, 491; methods of, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503; purposes of, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496.

Galpin, 7, 254, 289.
Geographical density, 416.
Geography, effect upon farmers' life, 289; on rural society, 286.
Giddings, 40, 275, 277.
Gillette, 7, 151.
Graphic presentation of community analyses and surveys, 464, 465.
Gray, 236.
Group formation, 252.
Group thinking, 448.
Groves, 254, 440.

Hamlet town, efficiency of, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421.
Haney, 130, 132, 138.
Hart, 60, 61.
Hawthorne, 103.
Hayes, 347.
Highways in country, 189, 190.
Hobbes on organic nature of society, 426.
Hoffer, 234, 235.
Holmes, 236.
Home conveniences, 107, 108, 109, 110.
Hospitality among rural folk, 260.
Human element in agriculture, 2.
Human relations, 368.
Humanism, 18.

Ideals in country, 282, 283.
Impressional events of rural and city school children, 78, 82.
Impressional-expressional method of measuring social life, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79.
Impressions, 45; from animal world, 45; from physical world, 45; from social world, 46.
Improvement of rural library, 385.
Income of farmer in kind, 105, 106.
Increase in tenancy in United States, 231.
Indebtedness, influence on socialization, 217.
Individual, adaptation to organization, 337.
Individualism, 255, 268, 275.
Infectious diseases, resistance of rural people to, 144, 145.
Institution, function of, 334, 335, 336, 337.
Institutional plan of community organization, 413.
Institutions and socialization, 20.

Intelligence and socialization, 83; of rural people, 146, 147, 269, 270, 271.
Inter-church co-operation, 369.
Inter-community organization, 506, 507, 508.
Interest groups, 183, 184, 185; relation to social stratification, 33.
Interstitial social areas, zones of indifference, 312, 313.
Introvert, 321.
Inventiveness in country, 277.
Isolation, 42, 43, 255.
Isolation sociology and church, 362.

James, 52.

Kirkpatrick, 69, 89, 90, 96, 97, 99, 103, 106, 107, 108, 204, 208, 216, 217, 237, 238.
Knowledge, extension of, 345.
Kolb, 164, 285, 294, 297, 298, 300, 302, 308, 309.

Labor income of farmer, 96, 102, 103.
Labor on farm, 200, 201; educational value of, 226; in groups, 224.
Labor-saving devices on farm, 207, 208, 209, 210.
Laissez faire, 429, 431.
Lampkin, 350.
Land economy, 10.
Land-mindedness, 254.
Land occupancy, 230.
Latent personality, 46, 47.
Laws of social progress, 439.
Leaders, responsibility of, 446; co-operation of, 445.
Leadership in country, 218; of community, 485, 486, 487; specialization of, 494, 495, 496.
Leisure time, 121.
Library community, 305.
Life, sociological theory of, 57.
Lindeman, 470.
Literacy of farmer, 150, 151.
Lively, 341, 365, 373, 378, 381, 386, 387, 389, 392, 393, 401, 402.
Lloyd, 237.
Local initiative, 470.
Local system of community organization, 471, 472.
Locality as a social force, 32.
Lodges in rural districts, 130, 131, 341, 342.
Longevity of rural people, 503.
Long-time program for community, 503.
Lundquist, 105.
Lyceum in rural districts, 401.

Machine agriculture, psychology of, 265.
Machinery, effect upon farm work, 204, 205.
Man economy, contrasted with acre economy, 2, 96, 431, 433, 434.
Manifold adaptations of farmer, 259.
Mapping the farmers' communities of service, 464, 465.
Marriage, city and country, 141, 142.
Materialism in rural life, 14.
McClenahan, 485.
McKensie, 154.
McNutt, 496.
Measurement of social phenomena, 62, 63, 64; of socialization, 73, 74, 114.
Mental defects among rural people, 146.
Mind of farmer, environmental factors, 255, 256, 257; occupational factors, 258, 259, 260; social factors, 260.
Mobility of property, urban and rural districts compared, 24, 286, 287.
Money income, relation to psychic income, 27; relation to standard of life, 91.
Moral training in schools, 357.
Morale, maintenance of in rural organizations, 444.
Morgan on community organization, 483.
Morse, 365, 366.
Mortality, urban and rural compared, 140, 141.
Motion picture, adaptation to rural community, 380; moral influence of, 376, 377; as a producer of social contacts, 377, 378; maladjustments of, 379.
Motivation of rural people, 279.
Motor farming, 205, 206.
Movement of farm population, 151, 152, 153.
Munger, 102, 237.

Music in country, 388, 389.
Musical activities of tenant, 245.
Mutual aid, 435, 436; as a basis for community organization, 438.

Natural community, location of, 290, 291, 292, 293.
Natural instincts, 431.
Nature's economy, contrasted to man's economy, 431, 432, 433.
Negro as a farmer, 239, 240.
Neighbor community, 304; society, 134.
Neighborliness, organization of, 438.
New community programs and organization of youth, 445.
Newspaper community, 303.

Occupation as a sociological factor, 84.
Organic theory of society and community, 426, 427, 428.
Organization, of interests, 315, 316, 317, 336; of thought, 446, 447, 448, 449.
Organizational peddling, 339.
Organizational policies, determination of, 441, 442.
Over-churching, 365.
Overlapping of programs and activities in rural communities, 481, 482, 483.
Over-organization, 339, 467, 468, 469.

Paid public welfare workers, 443.
Parent-teachers association, 392, 393.
Peasantry, 1, 34.
Pecuniary value, 26.
Personalism in farmers' possessions, 287; farmers' work, 255.
Personality, 54; growth of, 50; stimulation of, 55.
Philosophy of rural organization, 425.
Playgrounds in country, 386.
Political community, 304, 305.
Pool halls in rural town, 385, 386.
Population and the socialization process, 138.
Post office community, 303.
Poverty among rural people, 148, 149.
Primary groups, formation of, 309; services rendered by, 309, 310.
Primitive life in rural communities, 256.
Principles of community organization, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448.
Principles of social organization, 425.
Production of social contacts, 117, 118, 119.
Professional agriculture, 268.
Propagandist movements in rural America, 338.
Protestant churches in rural America, 150.
Provincialism, 180, 288.
Psychic association, 135.
Psychic income, 5, 14, 25; relation to money income, 26, 27, 28; social organization for, 28.
Public opinion, expression of in rural communities, 447, 448.

Quantitative methods in sociology, 63.

Race heredity, 53.
Racial composition of rural America, 149.
Radio in country, 181, 182, 186, 188.
Rankin, 107, 108, 220, 241, 243, 245, 373, 381.
Reading matter in farm homes, 243, 244.
Real estate, social value in, 23.
Recreation in country, 132, 133, 245, 246; improvement of, 389, 390, 391.
Recreational community, 305.
Related tenants, 234.
Religion in country, 149, 150; of tenant, 240; socialization of, 16, 19.
Religious conversion, 17.
Religious education in school, 352, 356, 357.
Religious intolerance, 19.
Reynoldson, 206.
Ross, 42, 53, 157, 225, 429, 443.
Rural association, 133, 134.
Rural birth rates, compared with city, 140.
Rural church, adjustment to task, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371; maladjustments of, 361, 362, 363; relation to agriculture, 359.
Rural civilization, 1.
Rural club, 392.
Rural communication, 116, 117, 118, 119, 180, 181.

Rural discontent, 35.
Rural home, as a social agency, 397, 398, 399.
Rural institutions, genesis of, 337, 338.
Rural library as a social agency, 381, 382, 383.
Rural migration, 154, 155.
Rural mind, 263.
Rural newspaper, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375.
Rural parish, 302.
Rural population, vitality of, 139.
Rural psychology, factors in, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262; nature of, 253, 254; relation to rural sociology, 250.
Rural recreation, agencies of, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391.
Rural social agencies, number and type, 340.
Rural society, character of, 261.
Rural sociology, definition of, 1, 6; field of, 6, 8; as rural socialization, 7.
Rural teachers, 350.
Rural welfare, 87.

Salvation, individual theory of, 364; social concept of, 18.
Sanderson, 292, 313, 483.
School, adjustment to rural tasks, 352; attendance in rural districts, 150, 151; community influence of, 300, 301; contact contribution of, 346, 347, 348; social efficiency of, 346, 347; function of, 343, 344, 345; isolation from society, 351, 352; unit of administration, 353.
School community, 299, 300.
Scientific agriculture, 166.
Season, influence on rural activities, 165.
Seasonal character of farming, 260.
Secondary communities, 308.
Sectarianism, 19, 364, 365, 366.
Selective propagation, dysgenic character of, 158, 159.
Self-determination in rural communities, 441, 442.
Self, functional concept of, 50.
Service areas, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296, 297, 306, 307.
Service bureaus for rural community, 500, 501, 502.
Service communities, evolution of, 297; varieties of, 306, 307.
Sex composition of rural people, 145.
Sex impulses in country, 280.
Sex in rural society, 282.
Shepherd, 439.
Silence in farm life, psychology of, 257.
Size of farm, influence upon socialization, 216.
Small, 60.
Snedden, 16.
Social agencies, 126.
Social barter, 22.
Social bonds, 31.
Social contacts, 56; analysis of, 75, 462; cost of, 463; derived from school, 346, 347; influence of wealth on, 218, 219; measurement of, 70, 71; occupation as a factor in, 125; number per capita in communities, 117, 421; production of, 117, 118, 119; quality of, 118; relation to personality, 55; rural agencies contributing to, 120.
Social control, difficulty of imposing, 434; future of, 449; relation to community building, 434; theory of, 429, 430, 431, 432.
Social density, 174.
Social efficiency as related to farm capital, 216, 217.
Social engineering, 422, 423.
Social geography, future of, 311.
Social gravity, 172.
Social measurements, 65, 66, 67, 68.
Social motives, 252.
Social nutrition, 5, 6, 40.
Social phenomena, nature of, 61.
Social rations, 40.
Social solidarity, 33; of farmers, 11.
Social stability of small town, 175, 176, 177, 178.
Social stratification, 33.
Social utilities, compared to economic utilities, 27.
Social value, relation to machine production, 21; relation to mobility of property, 24; relation to psychic wants, 21; relation to real estate

values, 23; effect of surplus time upon, 20; taxation of, 22.
Socialization, 6, 7, 8, 49; budget for, 462; as influenced by density of population, 416, 417; as influenced by size of farm, 216; as influenced by wealth, 213, 214, 215; law of diminishing returns applied, 215, 216; relation to rural discontent, 35; related to peasantry, 34; related to religion, 17.
Socialization measurements, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82.
Society as an organism, 426; scientific direction of, 432, 433, 434.
Sociological tests, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.
Sociology, 60; as the scientific production and distribution of psychic utilities, 29.
Specialization, effect upon rural mind, 263, 264, 265.
Stabilization of community life, 313, 314, 315.
Standard of living, definition of, 67, 88, 89, 90; determined by culture, 69; determined by education, 97, 98; of farmer, 100, 101, 247, 248; as related to socialization, 67, 68.
Starbuck, 17.
State aid for schools, 353, 354.
Static society, 42.
Struggle for culture, 35.
Suburban movement, 153, 154.
Super-organization, 468, 469, 470, 471.
Survey, general, 66.

Talent circuit, 507, 508.
Talent, development of in rural communities, 507, 508; resources in community, 324, 325; utilization of, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329.
Talley, 206.
Taxation, for education, 354; relation to social value, 22.
Teachers, lack of social training, 349.
Telephone in country, 183, 188.
Tenancy, advantages of, 232; causes of, 232; in Europe, 231; social aspects of, 230, 231; racial aspects of, 239.
Tenant, age of, 234; amusement and recreation of, 245, 246; education of, 237, 238; human efficiency of, 236; illiteracy of, 238; religious life of, 240, 241; social life of, 237, 242; standard of living of, 247.
Tenant problem, 231, 232.
Thaden, 88, 129, 130, 131, 366.
Thomas, 257.
Thompson, 39, 131, 133, 194, 200, 373, 389.
Topography, influence upon rural society, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 312; man's ascendancy over, 166.
Township high school, 355.
Trade community, 297, 298, 299.
Traits of rural people, 270, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278.
Transportation, factor in rural progress, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172.

Uncertainty, psychology of, 265, 266.
Utilities, psychic, 25.
Utilization of talent, 324, 325, 327, 328, 329.

Vacations in country, 211, 212.
Village community, social efficiency of, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421.
Visiting in country, 340, 399.
"Vitamines" in social life, 41.
Vocational adjustment, 253.
Volunteer workers, 442, 443, 444.
Von Tungeln, 132, 234, 235, 240, 241, 283.

Wages, theories of, 92.
Wants, cultural, 213, 214.
Warber, 131, 133, 194, 200, 373.
Ward, F., 105.
Ward, L. F., 432.
Wealth, influence on socialization, 213, 214, 215, 218, 219; amount in hands of farmer, 221, 222; prestige derived from, 24; socialization of, 226, 227.
Wehrwein, 130, 132, 238.
Weld, 106, 109, 111.
Work day of farmer, 195.
Work on farm, multiplicity of tasks, 195, 196, 258.

Young, 152, 155, 156.
Y. M. C. A., 487, 489, 506.
Y. W. C. A., 489, 506.

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